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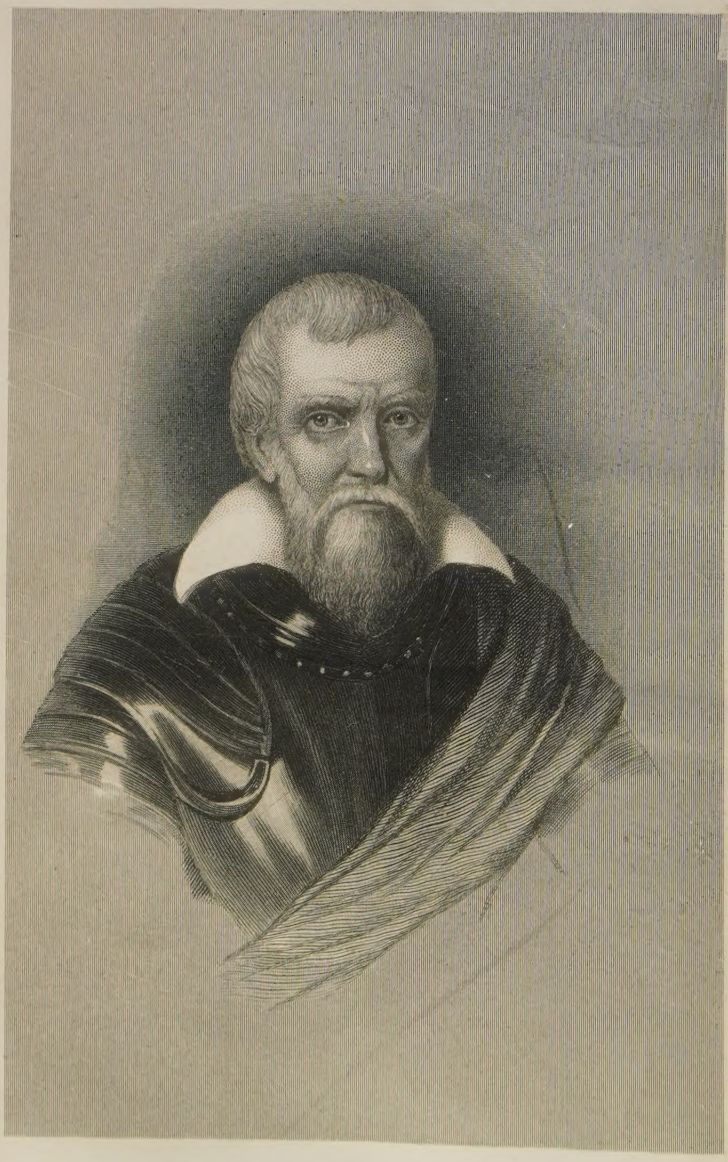

HUGH O' NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE

New York D & J Sadlier & Co.

THE

FATE AND FORTUNES

OF

HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE,

AND

RORY O'DONEL, EARL OF TYRCONNEL;

THEIR FLIGHT FROM IRELAND,

THEIR VICISSITUDES ABROAD,

AND

THEIR DEATH IN EXILE.

BY THE REV. C. P. MEEHAN, M.R.I.A.

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TO

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS O'HAGAN,

ONE OF THE JUDGES OF HER MAJESTY'S COURT
OF COMMON PLEAS IN IRELAND,

MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONORABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,

AND

REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ANCIENT JUSTICIARIES

OF

TYRONE.

SS. Michael and John, Dublin
December, 1867.

128705

PREFACE.

ONE autumn evening, many years ago, the author of the following pages, then a youth, accompanied by some fellow-students of his own age, after contemplating the magnificent panorama of Rome from the Janiculum, entered the Franciscan church that crowns that historic height, there to kneel awhile, and view the famous frescoes of Sebastian del Piombo. On leaving, a companion told him that he had read on two flag-stones, inserted in the floor of the sacred edifice, the names, O'Neill, O'Donel, Dungannon, Valladolid; and hearing this, we obtained leave to return and examine the inscriptions.* After a careful perusal, all we could learn was, that beneath those marbles lay the remains of Roderic, Prince of Tyrconnel, Calfurnius, his brother, and Hugh, Baron of Dungannon; who, having fought on Irish soil for the Apostolic Faith, abandoned their ancestral domains, made a pilgrimage to the most celebrated sanctuaries of France, Flanders, and Italy; and then came to Rome, where Paul V. gave them cordial welcome, and subsequently honored graves. These scant details, however, far from satisfying our anxiousness to know more of

* See Appendix.

those personages, only served to intensify it; and when we questioned some who we presumed should be familiar with the subject, who were those banished princes? what interests did they represent? what caused them to flee their native land? how did they escape from its shores? under what pressure did they depart? with what hopes of returning? what were their acts and adventures abroad? what consequences followed their exile and death? they could tell us nothing more than what the epitaphs recorded. To add to our perplexity, a part of the inscription on the tomb of prince Roderic related to his brother, Hugh, who died at Valladolid, and was there interred, by command of Philip III., with more than usual solemn pomp. When we asked who this Hugh might have been, and what he had done that a great monarch should have interested himself about him, living or dead, the only reply we could get was, that the few Latin lines told all that had been ascertained of his personal history. This being unsatisfactory, it was suggested that some ancient Hand-book of Rome might probably yield the desired information, and explain how it came to pass that those illustrious Irishmen were buried so far away from their own land. The oldest work, however, of that class, Schotto's and Capugnano's *Itinerarium Italiæ Regionum*,* was silent on the subject of our solicitude; but it told us that the Janiculum was called Mons Aureus, or Montorio, because of the golden color of its sand; that the convent church held among others the uninscribed tomb

* Published 1610.

of Julius III.; and that the Spanish ambassador at the Roman Court had recently—in 1605—built a terrace on the brow of the hill, that the pilgrim standing there might behold many a feature of the same scene which so charmed his Excellency's countryman, Martial,* what time Nero swayed the destinies of the universe.

After frequent visits to Montorio, a venerable member of the Franciscan community showed us the Necrology of the church; but all it contained in reference to the Irish princes, was the meagre entry of the year and day of their burial. The kind old man, however, hinted that the particulars we sought might in all likelihood be found in the library of another house of his order, that of S. Isidoro, so famous in the seventeenth century for its learned Irish annalists, and the large collection of Gaelic manuscripts with which they patriotically enriched their archives. But, as for the latter, we had neither time nor capacity to examine them, and least of all that particular one which the Guardian of those priceless treasures pointed out to us as the history of the Flight of the Earls, written in Irish by O'Keenan, one of their associates, the year after they arrived at Rome.

More than the span allotted to a generation has passed since that day of awakening research, and seldom in the interval has the writer ceased seeking for answers to his first inquiries, through every channel he could possibly reach; often under sad discouragements of many

* "Hinc septem dominos videre montes,
Et totam licet estimare Romam."—*Epigram* lxiv.

sorts, often with inadequate resources, but always with a single desire to unearth a secret kept over two centuries, and to make known the truth.

In printed books, even of the best historians, and the scarce brochures* published in England shortly after the flight, he could discover no satisfactory elucidation of the subject he had so much at heart. From the living learned, foremost among whom was the late John O'Donovan, he received some valuable hints, but nothing conclusive; and he thereon bethought him, that only from the mysterious recesses of old libraries, at home and abroad, he might be enabled to evoke clear, intelligible responses to the inquiries which had so interested him in boyhood, and fastened so impressively on him in maturer years.

Many before him, and, doubtless, better qualified, have devoted much space and time to clear away the mystery which has hitherto surrounded the departure of the Irish earls from Lough Swilly; but, strange to say, none of them had recourse to the original documents bearing on this subject, still preserved in the State Paper Office, London; in Lambeth; in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and in the Archives of S. Isidoro, where O'Keenan's narrative has lain till now unread. It is almost unnecessary to state that those documents shed a strong light on that epoch, when, with the close of

* The most noticeable of these are Gainsforde's "True Exemplary, and Remarkable History of the Earl of Tirone," and bishop Carleton's "Thankful Remembrance;" the former published in London, 1614, and the latter in 1624. Both teem with gross misrepresentations, which betray an utter disregard for truth.

the Scottish dynasty, Great Britain first came under the dominion of one crown, and Ireland was generally subjected, for the first time, to the operations of British law. The tragical history of the great earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, chiefs of the most eminent Celtic tribes remaining in this kingdom, is an essential contribution to the right understanding of that critical and eventful period of history, British as well as Irish; and the present writer would fain felicitate himself that he has gleaned from the repositories already mentioned many important facts that have been overpassed by other toilers in the same field of research. If he should have succeeded, even ever so little, in enlightening a dark and most momentous period, he will be to some extent repaid his labor; and the more so, when he reflects that this volume will be perused by friends who, nearly a quarter of a century gone, revived, in prose and verse, the love of Celtic lore, and have since made their names familiar sounds wherever the Irish exile finds a home—beneath the southern constellation, or in the cities and forests of America. Some of them, whose lot has been cast in opposite hemispheres, have lately visited Rome; and their letters not only described their emotions, while musing in the shadows of Montorio, but reminded the writer of a promise made long ago, that he would do his utmost to rehabilitate the memory of the Irish nobles who repose there. Those friends will now see that he has striven to realise their wish, perhaps inadequately, but certainly with untiring earnestness. Looking to the past, as far as this subject is con-

cerned, his chief regret is, that the documents he labored to collect were not forthcoming at an earlier period, when they might have been turned to better account by some other—even the least gifted of his associates; for indeed—

> "They were a band of brethren, richly grac'd
> With all that most exalts the sons of men,
> Youth, courage, honor, genius, wit well plac'd—
> When shall we see their parallels again?
> The very flower and fruitage of their age,
> Destined for Duty's cross or Glory's page."

Having alluded to the sources from which the materials for this work have been derived, the author deems it right to state, that, with the exception of the documents already published in Secretary Winwood's Memorial of State Papers, and a few others elsewhere, none of the rest has appeared in print till now. He would also advertise the reader that it is not meant to be a biography of the great earl of Tyrone, or of his companion in misfortune, Rory, earl of Tyrconnel, while engaged in camp or council,—situations in which both have been vividly depicted by the graphic pencil of John Mitchel; but rather a succinct narrative of that interval which exhibits those illustrious personages disarmed, entangled in harassing lawsuits, suspected and dogged as conspirators, while each was the victim of the most subdolous and cruel plotting of those in power, who had set their hearts on getting possession of their princely patrimonies. Extending over three viceroyalties, the volume will be found to contain incidents of biography and history, ecclesiastical and civil, hitherto unpublished,

and most important for illustrating the times of lord Mountjoy, sir George Carey, and sir Arthur Chichester, the aim of whose policy was to exterminate the Celtic race, and establish a modern schism on the contemplated ruin of the ancient Church. Having entered into this undertaking with the view of supplying a page to his country's history, the author may be permitted to say that he has left nothing undone, either among State Papers, or other likely quarters at home or abroad, that could throw light on one of its darkest episodes, opening at Mellifont, and closing on the Janiculum.

It will be seen that the publisher has taken special care to enhance the work with portraits of some of the remarkable personages who figure in its pages. That of the great earl of Tyrone has been carefully copied by B. Mulrenin, esq., R.H.A., who justly ranks among the most eminent Irish painters of past or present times; that of O'Sullivan Bear is from a faithful photograph of the original, still existing in the Irish College, Salamanca; that of Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh,* from the original, in the Museum at Louvain; and that of Florence Conry, the celebrated archbishop of Tuam, from the fresco in the cloister of S. Isidoro, Rome.

The vignette on the title is a fac-simile of the signet

* The copy of his "*Commentarius de Regno Hiberniæ*," published at Louvain, abounds in typographical errors, and is, moreover, defective in many respects. A new edition of this important work, collated by the learned P. F. Moran, D.D., with the original MS. presented by the author to Clement VIII., is now going through the press.

of Owen Roe O'Neill, discovered by Rev. J. Graves, in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle, and published in vol. v. of the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society. The biography of Owen Roe has not yet been written; but some notices of him are here presented to the reader, together with a few of his letters, and the last production of his hand, addressed from his deathbed, to the great duke of Ormond.

In conclusion, the author respectfully thanks sir B. Burke, U.K.A.; sir W. Wilde; J. P. Prendergast, esq.; J. T. Gilbert, esq.; D. F. M'Carthy, esq.; the reverend Michael Malone, C.C., Limerick; the reverend J. O'Hanlon,* SS. Michael and John; and the reverend T. Carey, O.S.F., for valuable assistance given him during the progress of his labors. The gentleman, however, to whom he is especially indebted, is H. R. Hamilton, esq., barrister-at-law and Record-Agent; whose acquaintance with the ancient documents existing in the State Paper Office, Lambeth, and other English repositories, is as extensive as it is profound.

* Author of "The Life of St. Malachy O'Morgair," "The Life of St. Laurence O'Toole," and other works of rare merit.

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FATE AND FORTUNES

OF THE EARLS OF

TYRONE AND TYRCONNEL.

CHAPTER I.

ABOUT the middle of March, 1602, the lord deputy Mountjoy, in obedience to instructions he had recently received from Queen Elizabeth's privy council, set out at the head of a considerable force from Dublin to the borders of Ulster, to effect, if he could, the arrest of Hugh, earl of Tyrone, known to his followers as the O'Neill; or, failing in the attempt, to induce that celebrated personage to surrender himself to the queen's mercy. Tyrone was then in Glenconkeine, a strong fastness in the present county of Londonderry, where, with some five hundred of his adherents, he still kept the Red Hand flying, for, although beaten, it was not vanquished by the disaster of Kinsale. Ever since that memorable defeat of the Irish and Spanish confederacy, Tyrone comforted himself with the assurance that Philip the Third would send another expedition to Ireland, to retrieve the honor of his flag, and avenge the humiliation it had sustained, owing to the incompetency or treachery of Don Juan d'Aquila, who,

on his return home, was committed to prison, till a court-martial should pronounce on his very doubtful conduct. Tyrone, indeed, had good reason to count on Spanish aid for Elizabeth's moral and material support was then maintaining rebellion in the Low Countries, and Philip, were he so disposed, might easily embarrass her majesty by sending another armament to the shores of Ulster. That the king was inclined to do so there can be no question, for Clement VIII., then reigning in the Vatican, pressed it upon him as a sacred duty which he owed to his coreligionists in Ireland, whose efforts to free themselves from Elizabeth's tyranny the pontiff pronounced to be a crusade against the most implacable heretic of the day.

The individuals deputed by O'Neill to solicit king Philip's armed intervention, were Florence Conry, a Franciscan friar, celebrated in the schools, and somewhat famous as a diplomatist, and Hugh Roe O'Donel, chief of his name, prince of Tyrconnel,—a soldier nowise inferior to the ablest of his time. The king, indeed, gave friendly ear to their joint prayer, and at their instance abolished certain abuses which they represented as existing in an institution founded by his majesty at Salamanca, for Irish secular ecclesiastics, and then dismissed O'Donel to Corunna, to wait there till another flotilla was equipped for Ireland. Meanwhile, O'Donel, irritated by delays, and brooding over hopes deferred, was seized with fever, and Conry, instead of accompanying him back to Ireland, followed his corse to the Franciscan church of Valladolid, where it was buried* with all the honors due to one who had left such a splendid name in the

* September, 1602. See in Appendix Mangan's metrical description of his funeral, and also the memorial relating to the Irish college in Salamanca.

annals of his unfortunate country. The intelligence of his decease reached Tyrone in Glenconkeine, and thenceforth he began to despair of the promised aid. Some, also, of his most trusted officers, whose friendship, like the dial-shadow, vanishes with the sun, were falling away from him; and at such a crisis he saw that nothing remained but to make the best terms he could with the majesty of England, which he had so often imperilled, nay humbled.

It is a curious, and, perhaps, suggestive fact, that queen Elizabeth, while gasping on her cushions at Richmond, and tortured by remembrances of her latest victim, Essex, often directed her thoughts to that Ulster fastness, where her great rebel, Tyrone, was still defying her, and disputing her title to supremacy on Irish soil. But of this, however, there can be no doubt; for in February, while she was gazing on the haggard features of death, and vainly striving to penetrate the opaque void of the future, she commanded secretary Cecil to charge Mountjoy to entrap Tyrone into a submission on diminished title, such as Baron of Dungannon, and with lessened territory, or, if possible, to have his head before engaging the royal word. It was to accomplish any of these objects that Mountjoy marched to the frontier of the north; but finding it impossible to procure the assassination of "the sacred person of O'Neill,* who had so many eyes of jealousy about him," he wrote to Cecil, from Drogheda, that nothing prevented Tyrone from making his submission but mistrust of his personal safety, and guarantee

* Among those employed to murder O'Neill in cold blood, were sir Geoffrey Fenton, lord Dunsany, and *Henry Oge O'Neill*. Mountjoy bribed one Walker, an Englishman, and a ruffian calling himself Richard Combus, to make the attempt, but they all failed.—*See Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy*, by D. MacCarthy, esq.

for maintenance commensurate to his princely rank. The granting of these conditions, Mountjoy concluded, would bring about the pacification of Ireland, and Tyrone, being converted into a good subject, would rid her majesty of the apprehension of another Spanish landing on the Irish shore. It is possible that this proposed solution of the Irish difficulty may have reached Richmond at a moment when Elizabeth was more intent on the talisman sent her by the old Welsh woman, or the arcane virtues of the card fastened to the seat of her chair, than on matters of statecraft; but be that as it may, the lords of her privy council empowered Mountjoy to treat with Tyrone, and bring about his submission with the least possible delay.

The deputy, therefore, commissioned sir Garret Moore to treat and parley with Tyrone, his adherents and followers; and at the same time he issued a protection guaranteeing the safety of his person, and commanding all officers in her majesty's service to forbear acts of hostility against him and his, that he might repair to his Excellency's presence. The warrant and commission were intrusted to sir Garret Moore and sir William Godolphin, on the 24th March; and in the afternoon of that day, Mountjoy, accompanied by a brilliant retinue, comprising among others his secretary, Fynes Moryson, whose ten years' travels in foreign lands gave him wonderful eclat at the period, rode from Drogheda to Mellifont, where sir Garret Moore had made grand preparations for entertaining such a high and mighty guest. The host, doubtless, was well acquainted with his visitor's epicurean tastes; and we may therefore assume that the gardens and pleasure-grounds of the secularized monastery were in perfect trim, the mansion itself richly furnished, and the "rooms of retreat," in which Mountjoy took such delight, amply provided

with the recent productions of Shakspere and Ben Jonson, since his secretary tells us the deputy was passionately fond of "play-books." Angling, too, was one of his lordship's weaknesses; and, were he so disposed, the Mattock, that winds through the lovely glen in which Mellifont stands, abounded in red trout, and might have given ample sport to his rod. Indeed, there was no lack of entertainment for him and his suite; and surely, if the disembodied spirits of the Cistercians tarried about their ancient house, they must have been scandalized at the masks and carousings which then profaned their cloisters, chapter-room, and once sober refectory. Little, however, did the revellers trouble themselves with memories which the place might well awaken—how it was founded five centuries previously by O'Carroll, king of Oriel, in honor of God and for the good estate of his own soul—*pro remedio animæ suæ;* how Devorgilla, MacMurrough's paramour, endowed its altars with golden chalices, and how she passed the residue of her years there in repentance, till she died and found a grave within its precincts. Other thoughts employed them, or, if they reverted to the past, it was only to toast the name of the eighth Henry, who dispersed the monks, seized their sacred gold and silver vessels, rifled the rich shrine containing the canonized bones of St. Malachy,* and bestowed the monastery on an ancestor of sir Garret Moore, by whom it was transformed into "a fair mansion," half palace, half fortress, to overawe the Irish bordering on the pale.

But the festivities, we may presume, must have been of short duration; for, on the twenty-seventh of the month, a courier, who had travelled with more than ordinary speed from London, arrived in Mellifont, at

* See Rev. J. O'Hanlon's Life of St. Malachy, p. 193.

midnight, and informed Fynes Moryson that the queen had departed this life three days previously. This momentous news was immediately imparted by Fynes Moryson to Mountjoy, and both agreed that it should be kept a profound secret till it was officially announced, lest, perchance, Tyrone, who was ignorant of the event, might refuse to surrender his person to one who had no power from the succeeding sovereign to treat with him, or receive him to mercy. Another reason for this precaution was, that Tyrone might, in the then unsettled state of the kingdom, hold out longer in rebellion, or, by "coming in" of his own accord between two reigns, ingratiate himself with the new king by a voluntary submission, than which nothing could have been more acceptable to James the First. Influenced by these considerations, the lord deputy sent word to sir William Godolphin and sir Garret Moore to lose no time in pressing on Tyrone the expediency of accepting the protection in the *queen's name*, and causing him to repair to Mellifont. Indeed, Tyrone had already sent his secretary, Henry O'Hagan, to advertise the lord deputy that he was about to come to his presence; and accordingly, on the 29th of March, at nine o'clock in the morning, he surrendered himself to sir William Godolphin and sir Garret Moore at Tougher, within five miles of Dungannon.

On the following evening, Tyrone, and the commissioners having charge of him, reached Mellifont, when, being admitted to the lord deputy's presence, he knelt, as was usual on such occasions, and made penitent submission to her majesty. Then being invited to come nearer to the deputy, he repeated the ceremony, if we may credit Fynes Moryson, in the same humiliating attitude, thus: "I, Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, do absolutely submit myself to the queen's

mercy, imploring her gracious commiseration, imploring her majesty to mitigate her just indignation against me. I do avow that the first motives of my rebellion were neither malice nor ambition ; but that I was induced by fear of my life to stand upon my guard. I do, therefore, most humbly sue her majesty that she will vouchsafe to restore to me my former dignity and living. In which state of a subject I vow to continue for ever hereafter loyal, in all true obedience to her royal person, crown, and prerogatives, and to be in all things as dutifully conformable thereunto as I or any other nobleman of this realm is bound by the duty of a subject to his sovereign, utterly renouncing the name and title of O'Neill, or any other claim which hath not been granted to me by her majesty. I abjure all foreign power, and all dependency upon any other potentate but her majesty. I renounce all manner of dependency upon the king of Spain, or treaty with him or any of his confederates, and shall be ready to serve her majesty against him or any of his forces or confederates. I do renounce all challenge or intermeddling with the uriaghts,* or fostering with them or other neighbor lords or gentlemen outside my country, or exacting black-rents of any uriaghts or bordering lords. I resign all claim and title to any lands but such as shall now be granted to me by her majesty's letters-patent. Lastly, I will be content to be advised by her majesty's magistrates here, and will assist them in anything that may tend to the advancement of her service and the peaceable government of this kingdom, the abolishing of barbarous customs, the clearing of difficult passes, wherein I will employ the labors of the people of my country in such places as I shall be directed by her majesty, or the lord deputy in her name ; and I will

* Vassals.

endeavor for myself and the people of my country to erect civil habitations, and such as shall be of greater effect to preserve us against thieves and any force but the power of the state."

To this act of submission Tyrone affixed his sign-manual, and handed it to the deputy, who told him he must write to Philip III. of Spain to send home his son Henry, who had gone with father M'Cawell* to complete his studies in Salamanca. The deputy also insisted that he should reveal all his negotiations with the Spanish court, or any other foreign sovereign with whom he maintained correspondence; and when the earl assured him that all these requirements would be duly discharged, the lord deputy, in the queen's name, promised him her majesty's pardon to himself and followers, to himself the restoration of his earldom and blood, with new letters-patent of all his lands, excepting the country possessed by Henry Oge O'Neill,† and the Fews,‡ belonging to Tirlough MacHenry O'Neill, both of whom had recently taken a grant of same to be holden immediately from the queen. It was further covenanted that Tyrone should give 300 acres of his land to the fort of Charlemont, and 300 more to that of Mountjoy, as long as it pleased her majesty to garrison said forts. Tyrone assented to all these conditions, and then received the

* He was afterwards promoted successor to Peter Lombard in the see of Armagh, but died when about to return from Rome to Ireland, 1626. He is buried in S. Isidoro, where John, earl of Tyrone, placed a tablet to his memory. For the voluminous works of this learned Franciscan prelate, see Ware's "Writers of Ireland."

† In the barony of Dungannon, and vicinity of Mulnagore.

‡ A mountainous region, the name of which survives in the baronies of the Upper and Lower Fews, mearing the counties of Louth and Armagh. The whole was excepted out of Tyrone's lordship, and granted to Tirlough MacHenry and his heirs forever, by the service of one knight's fee, the rent of a horse, and two pair of spurs, or 40s. Irish, on the election of said Henry.—P. R. Jac. I.

accolade from the lord deputy, who, a few months before, had written to queen Elizabeth, that he hoped to be able to send her that ghastliest of all trophies—her great rebel's head!

On the fourth of April, the deputy and Tyrone, escorted by a numerous retinue of the lords of the pale and divers troops of horse, set out for Dublin; and on the road his Excellency conferred knighthood on the gentleman whose courier had brought him intelligence of the queen's death. As for Tyrone he held an honored place in that long cavalcade; but we may easily imagine how he felt when passing the historic mansion of the Barnwells at Turvey, where he wooed and won his second wife, Mabel, sister of his mortal enemy, sir Henry Bagnal, slain in the memorable fight of the "Yellow Ford;"* but above all, when he called to

* The battle of the Yellow Ford [Bellanathabuidh] was fought in August, 1598; and such was the consternation of the lords justices when the news of O'Neill's success reached them, that they wrote to the queen "they had only 600 *townsmen* to impede his approach to the metropolis." For the despatches relating to this signal victory, see the original documents published in the *Kilkenny Journal of Archæology* (v. iv.), by Daniel MacCarthy, esq. In the same volume will be found the romantic incidents of Tyrone's marriage with Mabel Bagnal, collected by the same learned gentleman. The courtship commenced at Turvey, and the marriage was performed at Drumcondra, by Jones, bishop of Meath, who got into an imbroglio with queen Elizabeth for his share in the transaction. Turvey (built 1565, by Christopher Barnwell and Dame Marian Sherle) is still standing, and the tomb of the Barnwells may be seen near the round tower of Lusk. We may also remark, that English libellers of his time asserted that Tyrone had a multitude of wives, whom he treated after the fashion of a Turkish pasha; but this statement is satisfactorily refuted by archbishop Lombard, who has left the following valuable information in his "De Regno Hib.," p. 383:—"Dicitur quod tres quasi uxores simul retineret, sed maligna hæc calumnia. Habuit quidem ille tres uxores, at legitimo matrimonio singulas sibi copulatas: primam omnium lectissimam fœminam ex familia O'Donnellorum, ex qua suscepit plures proles: inter quas duo filii optimæ

mind that five years previous he might, had he so willed it, have entered the metropolis at the head of his army, flushed by "the greatest overthrow the English ever sustained since they first set foot in Ireland."*

In the afternoon of the next day, the lord deputy and suite crossed the only bridge that then spanned the Liffey, and proceeded through the *Skinners' Row* to the castle, where he was met by sir Henry Davers, who arrived a few hours before with a letter, in the king's hand, dated Holyrood House, March 28, and others from the lords in England, announcing the queen's death. The king's letter to Mountjoy authorized him to remain in Ireland as deputy, and to take the oath of allegiance of all his majesty's counsellors, governors, and others bearing office in that realm, to the end that the rumor of the queen's decease might brew no alteration there. The intelligence of this event astounded Tyrone, on whose face all men's eyes were cast; and he wept so copiously that his tears could not be concealed; but, says Moryson, although he insinuated that the loss of the late sovereign touched his tenderest sympathies, there needed no Œdipus to divine that he repented his precipitate submission, or, at all events, grieved that he did not postpone it a few days, and thus fasten great merit on the new king. Be that as it may, he repaired with the deputy, lords

indolis, nunc adolescentes, Hugo et Henricus. Ea defuncta aliam duxit uxorem Britanis parentibus in Hibernia natam, sororem Marescalli totius regionis, quæ quomodocunque apud suos de religione primum docta, constat quod posteaquam uxor huic principi facta, in ædibus suis a Catholicis sacerdotibus tam bene instituta fuerat ut et religiosissime vixerit, et sanctissime obierit. Ab hujus itaque morte postremo inde loco tertiam habet uxorem ex familia Magnesiorum, ætate quidem juniorem, sed educatione, moribus, prudentia, pietate maturam."

* Camden.

spiritual and temporal, officers of arms, mayors, sheriffs, and Ulster king-of-arms, through the few dozen narrow streets on the south bank of the Liffey of which the metropolis then consisted, to the High Cross,* where, with flourish of trumpets, proclamation was duly made, "That since it had pleased God to call to his mercy out of this transitory state, the high and mighty princess Elizabeth, late queen of England, France, and Ireland, the imperial crown of the realms aforesaid are now absolutely come to the high and mighty Prince James Sixth of Scotland, lineally and lawfully descended from the body of Margaret, daughter to the renowned prince Henry VII., his great grandfather — a just prince, adorned with all the rarest gifts of mind and body,† and blessed already with a most happy and royal posterity, to the infinite comfort of all his people, who is now become our only lawful, lineal, and rightful liege lord, James the First, king of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and soforth."‡ The day after the king was proclaimed, Tyrone repeated the submission made at Mellifont, the name of the sovereign only changed, and despatched a letter to the king of Spain, stating that he had held out as long as he could, in the vain hope of being succored by him; and finally, when deserted by his nearest kinsman and followers,

* See Gilbert's Dublin, v. i.

† It was Mountjoy, doubtless, who suggested this piece of flattery, of which he was a consummate master; for all his biographers agree that James—to say nothing of certain vices in which he indulged, and at which we must only hint—was a slovenly pedant, of disgusting habits, a coward, grotesque on foot as well as in the saddle, faithless, addicted to swearing and the grossest sensuality. His character and personal appearance have been faithfully described by Dr. Vaughan, in his Revolutions of English History, v. iii.

‡ The Catholic lords who subscribed the proclamation were: Tyrone, Gormanstown, Killeen, Trymbleston, Slane and Dunsany.

was enforced, as in duty bound, to declare his allegiance to James I., in whose service and obedience he meant to live and die. He concluded by thanking Philip for his princely usage of his son Henry, to whom he wrote to return home, as he was anxious to see him settled during his lifetime; but without effect, for Henry remained in Spain till afterwards promoted to command a regiment of Irish in the service of Albert and Isabella, joint sovereigns of the Netherlands, to whose memory the Catholics of Ireland owe a lasting debt of gratitude, for countless favors they bestowed upon them—laymen as well as ecclesiastics.

Having thus reduced the country to peace by Tyrone's submission, Mountjoy despatched sir Henry Davers with letters to the king, narrating his success over the "chief rebel," the "coming in" of others, such as O'Rourke and Rory,* brother of Hugh O'Donel, recently deceased, and praying that he might be either relieved of the deputyship, or allowed to go to England to kiss the royal hands. He also sent one of his secretaries to inform the king, that if he were pleased to continue him in the government, he would accept the office, with the title of lord lieutenant and two-thirds of the deputy's allowances, as no one could bear the charges of that place unless he had other large fees and emoluments. In short, the secretary was charged to procure a new patent to Mountjoy, with the title of lord lieutenant, and authority to leave sir George Carey to be lord deputy, that his Excellency might proceed to London without delay, to solicit money and munitions for the garrisons;

* In November, 1602, sir Paul Gore was sent by the lord deputy, with the queen's protection, to Rory O'Donel, who had petitioned to be admitted to mercy, with directions to bring him to the deputy, then in Connaught. Accordingly, on the 14th December, Gore brought him to Athlone, where, with O'Conor Sligo, he made his submission to the queen.

to restore the coinage* to its purity; and to obtain power to pass estates to the Irish lords. As for Tyrone, he was to inform his majesty that he, Mountjoy, had allowed him to return to his own country after renewing to him the royal protection for a longer time, till he could sue out his pardon at the foot of the throne. Little reason, indeed, had Mountjoy to anticipate that any of his requests would be refused by James, who was well aware of his complicity in Essex's plot, when that ill-fated nobleman urged the king of Scots to march into England and aid him in an attempt to compel Elizabeth to declare his majesty her successor, promising at the same time, that Mountjoy would bring over 5,000 soldiers from Ireland to effect the same object. In fact, there was no man in the British realms at the period who had less cause to regret the queen's death than Mountjoy; for, had she lived another

* At the commencement of her reign, Elizabeth set about establishing the coinage on a satisfactory basis, and paid some attention to that of Ireland, which was seriously debased. A special coinage of Irish shillings, value ninepence, was issued to pass in Ireland for twelvepence; and a popular ballad of the time mentions the fact thus:—

"Let bonfires shine in every place;
Sing and ring the bells apace;
And pray that long may live her grace
To be the good queen of Ireland.
The gold and silver that was so base,
That no man could endure it scarce,
Is now new-coined with her own face,
And made go current in Ireland."

Sing, however, as they might, the Irish were badly treated, for the base money called in in England was exported to Ireland, and recoined to pass current there at double its real value. To supply the want of small change, traders and shopkeepers issued tokens of halfpence and pence, which were made of lead, tin and leather. On the accession of James I. it was determined to establish the relative value, for the purposes of exchange, of the English, Irish, and Scotch coinage; but the abuse, arising from private monopolies, survived till after the wars of the Commonwealth and during the campaign of James II.

year, it is more than probable he might have shared the fate of unfortunate Essex.*

Tyrone set out for the north with directions from the lord deputy to restrain his former partisans, whose fields had been ravaged during the late war, till the whole region became a scene of revolting desolation. Carcasses strewed the ground between Newry and Dungannon, and it was no uncommon spectacle to behold "children gnawing the entrails of their dead mothers, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past, and having eaten it all, from the feet upwards, to the bare bones, roasting it by a slow fire."† Kites, hawks, horseflesh, and other obscene aliments were dainties to the unfortunate people of Ulster at that period; and one might be disposed to attribute these horrors to their own turbulence or improvidence, if we were not assured by an eye witness that he had seen

* It is supposed that Tyrone and Essex conspired to dethrone the queen at their conference held in September, 1599, at the ford on the Lagan, now Anaghclart-bridge, the place chosen for their meeting by O'Neill's secretary, Henry O'Hagan. Essex's toleration of the Catholics and their worship, was, doubtless, meant to secure the sympathy and, perhaps, the co-operation of the great northern chieftain. At all events, the queen was much displeased with Essex's truce and parley, and wrote to him that "to trust Tyrone was to trust a devil upon his religion." A letter written by M. Boisisse, the French ambassador, to M. de Rohan, dated London, March 4, 1600, lends some color to Tyrone's complicity with Essex: "Essex had *secret* intelligence with Tyrone in Ireland, entertained Jesuits, sold London to the Infanta, and meant to usurp the crown." In the same year sir H. Nevill, ambassador in the Netherlands, writes to secretary Cecil: "The Irishmen here and in the Low Countries give confident bruits of the great weakness of her majesty's forces in Ireland and the strength of the rebels; of Tyrone's resolution to pursue the war till we have established the Catholic religion; and of his purpose to approach the war to the gates of Dublin. Their intelligence they receive from Jesuits, and namely from one father Fitzsimons, residing in Dublin."

† Fynes Moryson.

the English troops, when not otherwise engaged, uprooting the growing crops with their swords, and employing fire to consume whatever the natives had laid up in their barns.* It was the policy suggested by Spenser, styled the "gentle," and it was carried out with unrelenting ferocity. To remedy, as far as impoverished means would allow him, this sad state of affairs, was Tyrone's first care; but he had scarcely begun to discharge his duties to the inhabitants of his own immediate lordship, when he found himself entangled in difficulties in a quarter where he might have least expected them, with his own son-in-law, Donald O'Cahan, distinguished by the agnomen "Ballagh," *freckled;* who sought, by virtue of a compact which he had made with sir Arthur Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, to repudiate all claim Tyrone had on him as his *uriaght* or chief vassal.

As the conduct of this individual influenced events which were destined to involve Tyrone and himself in ruin, we must here glance, although rapidly, at his antecedents, and at the territory which he and his held for centuries as vassals to the princes of Tir-Owen. The tribe of O'Cahan, or, as they were called by the Irish, *Oireachta-O'Cathain*, inhabited the district that stretches westward from the Foyle to the east of the Bann, and is bounded on the north by the sea, and on the south by the hills of Munterloony. The whole region is now comprised in the baronies of Tikeeran, Keenaght, and Coleraine. It was, at the period of which we are writing, a most fertile tract of country; abounding in springs, brooks, and rivers, especially fitted for rearing cattle, red deer, sheep, rabbits,† squirrels, martins, hemp,

* F. Mooney's MS. History of Irish Franciscans.

† All these articles of traffic are mentioned by Hakluyt, *Voyages*, 1437, and Guicciardini, *Descriz. de' Paesi Bassi*, 16th century,

and flax; while its vast forests, Glenconkeine and Killitragh, yielded, says sir John Davys, "the goodliest and largest timber, that might compare with any in the British dominions." Its sea and river fishings were not surpassed by any in Ireland, and the pearls found in the Foyle and on its sea-board, were eagerly sought by native and foreign merchants. The castles of the O'Cahans were Ainoch, situated in Lough Ena West, Dungiven, and Limavady,* which stands upon a time-worn cliff, a hundred feet above the point where the river Roe forms a cataract of exceeding beauty. Great benefactors to the Church, too, were the O'Cahans; for they founded and endowed the monastery of the Regular Canons of St. Augustin at Dungiven,† where the sculptured tomb of the greatest of their race, Cooey-nagall,‡ still exists; and the ancient annals relate how the O'Cahan of Creeve caused the door of the refectory of Dubh-Regles Columbkill, the black abbey church of Derry, to be carved at the request of its abbot, O'Henesy.§

But, as we have said, the O'Cahans held their lands as creditors of service or feudatories to the O'Neill, to whom they served homage, and paid certain tribute,

as having been sent from Ireland to Brabant, then the great emporium of the north of Europe. We may also observe, that Philip II. of Spain made a treaty with O'Cahan for fishing on his coast.

* Anglicè, the Dog's-leap.

† A.D. 1100.

‡ The Four Masters record the death of this chieftain, whose agnomen signifies "hunter of the foreigners"—the English—in 1385; and the late Dr. Petrie describes his tomb as possessing much architectural beauty, situated south of the chancel, and representing him in armor reclining, with one hand resting on his sword, above six warriors in relievo. Dungiven is to this day the burying-place of the O'Cahans, whose numerous monuments exhibit considerable sculptural skill.

§ A.D. 1192.

called *cios-righ* or cess, yearly; and the chief of the sept was also a high functionary whenever the O'Neill was inaugurated on the royal hill of Tullaghoge, for it was his office to cast the gold shoe over the head of the prince elect, while O'Hagan,* O'Neill's steward and justiciary, presented the straight wand, and then fas-

* The chief residence of the O'Hagans was within the rath of Tullaghoge, where stood the *Leac-na-righ*, or chair of coronation, and they assumed a gold sandal in their armorial bearings, because they placed it on the elect chief's foot. The ceremony had a decidedly Eastern aspect, as appears by Deut. xxv., where taking the shoe off the foot was, among the Jews, a mode of disgracing a man; and Ruth. iv., where giving the shoe is mentioned as a testimony of cession of right. A Lapide, commenting on this passage, observes: "Christiani hæreditatem domus ad eum per clavium acceptionem, agri vero per pedum positionem." The rite was, in many respects, the same as that observed by the Carinthians, a Celtic tribe north of the Adriatic, when inducting their prince or archduke, as may be seen in Lynch's Camb. Evers. The O'Hagan, so worthily represented by the learned judge of our time, had broad lands in the vicinity of Tullaghoge, as chief law-officer of Tyrone, but he was destined to share the hard fortune of his lord and chief. Hugh, earl of Tyrone, was the last of his race crowned at Tullaghoge, and the fact was communicated to the cabinet of Elizabeth by his mortal enemy, sir Henry Bagnal, in a letter dated September 14th, 1595, thus: "The traiter is gone to the stone to have himself called O'Neill upon some ceremony used; and hath given charge to all his forces to meet him there in two hosts." Fynes Moryson adds that Mountjoy "spent five days in the neighborhood, 1602, and after spoiling the corn of the whole country, smashed the chair whereon the O'Neills were wont to be created." It may not be out of place to observe, that Turlough O'Hagan was sent by Tyrone to escort Hugh Roe O'Donel from Glenmalure to Donegal, after that chief escaped from Dublin Castle, 1592; and that the same Turlough "commanded 500 men on the retreat from Kinsale, and was slain with all his company except twenty, whereof eleven were wounded, and of them seven died the eighteenth day after their return."—F. Moryson's Ireland. The O'Hagans are still to be found in the neighborhood of Tullaghoge, whereof they were once, as the bards sang, "Strong chief rulers—lords of fair avenues;" and with the traditional reverence of the old Celtic race for the burial-place of their fathers, they to this day inter in the ancient cemetery of Donaghrisk.

tened the gold sandal on his lord's foot. The subordinate officers in this august ceremony, the origin of which may be traced to the patriarchal times, were O'Mullan and O'Mulholland, the custodians of the Bell* of St. Patrick, who always assisted with that venerable relic on the mount of installation.

A more serious service, however, was to be rendered by the O'Cahan to his liege lord, whenever the latter made war; for the contingent he was obliged to furnish at such emergency, amounted to 140 horse and 400 foot, kern and gallowglass; in modern phrase, light and heavy infantry.

Without going back to those internecine conflicts so common among the Irish chieftains in the remoter periods of their history, and in which the O'Cahans acted their part, we find them in the ranks of Shane O'Neill, surnamed the Proud, when that prince swept the English pale with fire and sword, and burnt down the cathedral of Armagh, because primate Creagh,† a native

* For an account of this ancient bell, now in possession of Rev. Dr. Todd, see the Antiquities of Down and Connor, where the learned Dr. Reeves describes its vicissitudes.

† Dr. Creagh was a most disinterested prelate; for, although living at a time when he could not promote a relative to the meanest place under the crown, he still continued a true and good subject to England. No man ever suffered more either in the Castle of Dublin or in the Tower of London. He describes his prison in the former place as a "hole where, without candle, there was no light; and with candle (*when I had it*) so filled with smoke, that, had there not been a hole in the next door to draw breath with my mouth set upon it, I had been undone." And yet this archbishop, when transported to the Tower of London, where he is said to have been despatched by poison, wrote to the lords of the privy council (Feb. 22, 1564): "My poor purse was always spent to serve the crown of England, as of duty I was bound, knowing the joyful life that Irishmen have under England, nothing so oppressed as other princes' subjects are, if they were good and true in themselves." Strange that Creagh's goodness and loyalty could not get him clear of the Tower!

of Cork, who was very zealous for the extension of English rule in Ulster, denounced him for not submitting himself to queen Elizabeth. Two years after the assassination of Shane, an act of parliament* was passed attainting him, his confederates, allies, and the O'Cahans; but as English law had not then supplanted Brehon jurisdiction in Ulster, they continued to till their fields, hunt the dun deer in their forests, and export salmon, beeves, fells of kids, conies, and hawks, to Brabant, taking from the Antwerp merchants in exchange, finely tempered sword-blades and strong wines of Spanish vineyards.

In fact, so little were the O'Cahans affected by the act vesting all Tyrone in the crown, and abolishing the name of O'Neill, which has been styled the great title-deed to the lands of Ulster, that a chief of the sept was present at sir John Perrot's parliament, held in Dublin, 1585; for even then English power was not able to make the territory of *Cianachta*† shire ground. Two years afterwards, however, the queen thought it expedient to grant a charter, creating Hugh O'Neill earl of Tyrone for life, with remainder to Hugh, his son, his son Henry; remainder to Cormac, brother of the earl, and to his heirs male; also the title of baron of Dungannon for life. And in order that he might the better maintain this dignity, she granted him all the lands, tenements, advowsons of churches, and other possessions which he held in Tyrone, saving the castle near the Blackwater, and 240 acres adjacent to it. Finally, as Turlo Lynogh O Neill, chief or captain of Tyrone, had "superiority for his expenses and other *accustomed duties* over Maguire and O'Cahan, according to agree-

*1569.

† An ancient name of the territory held by the O'Cahans.

ment with the earl of Essex,* and for the due performance of the premises, namely, of the captaincy of Tyrone and of the *superiority over O'Cahan* and Maguire, her majesty directed a grant to be made to him of the premises."†

Acknowledging this supremacy of O'Neill, as he was bound, the O'Cahan paid all accustomed duties to Turlo Lynogh during his life; and when he passed away, and Hugh, the earl, succeeded to the captaincy of Tyrone, O'Cahan swore to render him the same man-service, and to hold himself in readiness, with his contingent of horse and foot, whenever his liege-lord called him to the field. And faithfully, indeed, did Donald Ballagh O'Cahan perform his duty to Tyrone, after the escape of Hugh Roe O'Donel from Dublin Castle; for he signally distinguished himself in all the engagements with the queen's troops, from Clontibret‡ to Belanathabuidh, at Kinsale, and in the retreat from that "disaster," till O'Neill was obliged to take refuge in the great fastness of Glenconkeine, expecting, but to no purpose, that O'Donel would one day sail up the Foyle with men, money, and munitions from Philip III. of Spain. As soon, however, as O'Cahan saw that all

* Walter, earl marshal of Ireland, whose attempt to plant English rule in Ulster signally failed, died in Dublin, 1576.

† It is worth observing that her majesty gave away what she never possessed, and still more noteworthy that she allowed advowsons to remain in the gift of the *popish* O'Neills. We may also observe, that the religious houses in *Ulster* were not dissolved till the accession of James I.

‡ See Mitchel's life and times of Hugh O'Neill, where there is a vivid description of the defeat of sir Henry Bagnal at the Yellow Ford, and also of the duel between O'Neill and Segrave at Clontibret, where, as appears in a letter from sir Ralph Lane, dated Monaghan, June 9, 1595, Tyrone wore a *jack* given him by Hatton, Elizabeth's dancing chancellor, and the son of O'Cahan struck off Segrave's arm with his sword.

hope of such succors had vanished, he resolved to act the traitor's part; and, yielding to the impulses of sordid egotism, he lost no time in signifying to sir Arthur Chichester, governor of Carrickfergus, that he was ready to withdraw himself from Tyrone, who, although a large price had been set upon his head, could not be forced out of that strong fastness till this act of treachery was consummated. This perfidy, which shows that Donald O'Cahan was a cruel-hearted man—an invariable characteristic of all traitors and informers since the days of Iscariot—was opened by a word-of-mouth message to Chichester, which the latter took down in writing, and which has fortunately survived the wear and waste of time:

"Donald O'Cahan offereth to give her majesty his loyal service, rent, and rising out, for assurance of which he will put in pledges, desiring he may not be deluded, and to know speedily whether he shall be accepted, to the end he lose not O'Neill's favor by his submission to her majesty, and be refused of his desire."

This, indeed, was a tempting proposal—one which Chichester could not refuse at such a crisis, when none of all Tyrone's people could be found "to bring in his head" for the sake of the price at which lord deputy Mountjoy estimated it. Sir Arthur, however, replied that the traitor should write to him before he would give more than consideration to the offer; and O'Cahan thereon sent him a letter, written in Irish, which, translated by some Celt in Chichester's pay, runs thus:—

"The commendations of O'Cahan to the governor of Carrickfergus, and I do trust my business, my body, and my counsel unto you, because I heard it is not

hurtful for me to trust to you; and, therefore, I do ask you to be true to me, and to every one of my people, till you send the lord deputy's answer unto me; until which time I will not do hurt to any of the queen's forces or her garrisons; (and to leave that) do not slack my business, for fear I should not get them done as I would to my liking with reason. And the service I would do for myself and O'Neill I will leave undone, but will believe what you write to me, I have such confidence in you. And so long as I was against the true prince, who ought to be over me, be it known unto you, that I could not choose but do so, since I was between O'Neill, O'Donel, and the Scots,* and it may be I was not able to defend myself against any of them; but what word soever I give you, let it be betwixt me and God if I break it."†

Having thus sold himself body and soul to Chichester, the latter referred him to sir Henry Docwra, governor of Lough Foyle, who, overjoyed at his defection, agreed to accept his services; and on the 27th of July made, with the lord deputy's consent, a stipulation, that so much of his country as lay between the rivers of Faughan and Lough Foyle, should be left to her majesty's disposal; that a piece of ground should be allotted for maintenance of a garrison on the lower Banu; and for the rest he should have her majesty's letters-patent to hold to him and his heirs.‡ O'Cahan was far from being satisfied with this arrangement, but there was now no remedy; and he began to think that he was deluded, contrary to his expectation, by the man in whom he had so much confidence. Be it told to the

* Those settled in Antrim, and aiding O'Neill.

† The original of this letter, dated June 21, 1602, and subscribed "O'Cahan," is in the S. P. O.

‡ Docwra's Narr., Miscell. of the Irish Arch. Soc.

credit of his people, however, that when led by himself and Docwra to force O'Neill from the fastness of Glenconkeine, they mutinied, refused the service, and dispersed to their homes, disgusted, as well they might be, with the turpitude of their fallen chief. His defection, however, was the turning point of Tyrone's career, for it compelled him to surrender himself to Mountjoy, and, as we have already said, prematurely.

From these particulars we now return to Tyrone, whom we left making whatever provision he could for the benefit of his people, so awfully beset by dearth and pestilence, caused by the destruction of the crops, and the unburied carcasses that lay festering about the country. Ignorant of, or perhaps setting little value on, the contract made by O'Cahan with Docwra, he sent sundry of his men and their wives to be cessed upon the former, and demanded of him his accustomed dues. O'Cahan, however, refused to comply, alleging that whatever land he now held had been given him by the crown, and that he was no longer his uriaght or sub-lord, and would continue to deny him all duties, such as *cios-righ, cuttings and spendings*, which he was wont to pay of old. Sir H. Docwra countenanced this line of conduct, and proceeded to Dublin to lay the matter before Mountjoy, with the hope of being able to secure that personage's sympathies for his protégé. The deputy, however, did not sanction his views; but, on the contrary, told him that Tyrone was "taken in," *i.e.*, accepted to pardon, with promise to be restored to *all his lands*, honors, and dignities, and that *O'Cahan's country was his, and must be obedient to his command.* In vain did Docwra produce the covenant to which he had set his hand, guaranteeing that O'Cahan should hold his lands immediately from the crown; for all he could get from the deputy was "that

O'Cahan was a drunken fellow, unable to do good or harm; that he, the deputy, should have care for the public good, and give contentment to lord Tyrone, *upon which depended the peace and security of the whole kingdom.*" Once more Docwra urged the written agreement, alleging that he had nothing to say about O'Cahan's drunkenness or disability to do harm; but the deputy, waxing warm, replied, that what he did was by the consent of the council of the kingdom, with approbation of the deceased queen as also of the reigning king, and wound up by swearing "*that O'Cahan must and shall be under my lord Tyrone.*" Greatly chagrined with the result of his mission, Docwra, who was a blunt, honest old soldier, returned to Derry, sent for O'Cahan, and repeated to him what the deputy had said.. O'Cahan grew furious, appealed to his treachery, challenged any one to show that he had done anything contrary to what he promised since he deserted his liege-lord, protested that he was undone by being forced to live under Tyrone; and then, turning to Hugh, Tyrone's son, who was present, shook him by the hand —the hypocrite!—"and bade the devil take all Englishmen, and as many as put their trust in them."* Thus, to all intents and purposes, was Tyrone restored to all his lands and honors; and thus was the old bill of attainder, in all respects, except assuming the title of O'Neill, once more rendered a dead letter, by the absolute decision of king James' deputy and lieutenant-general of Ireland.

About the same time† another false knave, Nial Garve O'Donel, who was also instrumental in crushing Tyrone, met sterner retribution at Mountjoy's hands; for that wretched man, who, we are told, combined the

* Docwra's Narrative. † May, 1603.

venom of an asp with the daring of a lion, thinking to exalt himself in the esteem of his employers, presumed to take the style and title of "O'Donel," with the usual ceremonial, in the old church of Kilmacrenan.* This proceeding was a capital offence in the eyes of the deputy; and were it not for Docwra, who discovered that the act, making it treason to revive ancient titles, was levelled at none but the O'Neill, he would doubtless have got rid of Nial by hanging him, as he deserved. Mountjoy was well disposed to do so; for he knew that the execution of such a miscreant, whose crimes caused his own wife, Nuala,† to abandon him, would have been hailed with delight by every honest man in the north. But the deputy found another way of punishing him, namely, by transferring to Rory O'Donel letters-patent of all Tyrconnel, which were intended for Nial as the reward of his defection. A warrant was then issued for his arrest, but he fled into the woods of Kinnaweer, and remained lurking there till he was allowed to go to London, where the king made him a grant of the lands he held while in amity with the late Hugh Roe O'Donel—the tract of country that stretches from Laght,‡ westwards, to Sheskinloobanagh,§ lying on either side the river Finn.

On the evening proclamation was made in Dublin of the king's accession, Mountjoy despatched copies of the same verbose document to all the principal cities and towns in Ireland, with directions to have them

* A Franciscan church founded by the O'Donels, who were there inaugurated by O'Freel. The woods of Kinnaweer were in the north of this parish.

† Sister of Red Hugh and Rory O'Donel.

‡ A townland in parish of Donaghmore, barony of Raphoe.

§ A marsh in townland of Croaghonagh, on the borders of county Tyrone.

duly published by the mayors and sheriffs within their respective jurisdictions. This was accordingly done in Waterford, April 12th, and in Cork on the 16th, by the mayor, who wrote to the deputy, by way of excusing himself, that he had deferred carrying out his order till then, that it might be done with greater solemnity. As soon, however, as the news of the queen's death reached the southern towns, the Catholics, foolishly imagining that their religious disabilities would be removed by the accession of the new king, forced open the gates of the ancient churches, rehabilitated them with all usages of the ritual, re-erected the altars, and celebrated mass publicly, and to the great satisfaction of the people, who had hitherto been obliged to assist at same in private houses, on hill-sides, and in secluded glens, where they could not be molested by the queen's bailiffs, who, like sleuth-hounds, were ever on the trail of the clergy. Indeed, priests and people had formed the most erroneous ideal of king James; for they, one and all, said to themselves, that the son of a mother who sealed her devotion to the Catholic religion with her blood, must have large sympathies with the professors of that faith; and the popular songs of the time lent semblance of truth to this persuasion, for, according to the genealogists and bards, the blood of the old Celtic monarchs circulated in king James' veins. As for the clergy, they had still stronger reasons for supposing that religious persecution, and that odious word toleration, had been buried in the late queen's grave; for they knew that James VI. of Scotland had often received supplies of money from the Roman court, and, above all, that Clement VIII.,* then reigning, had

* He sent to congratulate James on his accession, and subsequently the latter proposed to him to hold a general council. Clement VIII. founded the Scots' College at Rome.

suit made to him by the king himself, to favor his title to the crown of England, which the pontiff guaranteed to do, on condition that James promised not to persecute the Catholics.* But pope and clergy were speedily disillusionized, and taught that the monarch, from whom they hoped to receive some benefit, was utterly destitute of principle, and faithless to his word.

Meanwhile, however, intelligence reached Mountjoy, from Waterford, Limerick, Cork, and elsewhere, that the cathedrals, churches, and oratories had been seized by the people and clergy, and that father White, vicar-apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, had, with approbation of the towns-people, and Nicholas Walsh, chief justice of the king's bench, inaugurated this new state of things; *hallowing* St. Patrick's on 11th April, the church of the Trinity on the day following, and singing high mass there on Wednesday in passion week. The same zealous, but not very discreet clergyman, used the same rite in Kilkenny, Clonmel, and Ross; while another, enthusiastic as himself, performed the like function in all the churches of Wexford. A father Rafter had the boldness to reconcile the glorious old edifice on the rock of Cashel, the presence of the centenarian apostate, Miler Magrath,† notwithstanding; and he found active assistants in father Mead, who purified the churches of Cork and Cloyne, and Richard Arthur, who officiated in the same manner in the cathedral and all the churches of Limerick. Religious enthusiasm, however, and cool judgment rarely combine in the same individual; and all concerned in those proceedings were soon to be made aware of that truth. Affecting to be scandalized at such performances,

* Bellarmin asserts this, and the king admits it in his "Triplici Nodo." See Craik's Romance on the Peerage.

† For particulars regarding this pseudo archbishop, see Appendix

Mountjoy despatched sharp letters to the mayors of the southern towns, declaring them seditious and mutinous, for setting up "the public exercise of the popish religion," and charging them at their peril to cease from the exercise thereof. All remonstrances of the mayors and people, who made great capital of their sworn allegiance to the new king, were unavailing; and Waterford, the centre of the religious movement, was warned by the lord deputy, that he meant to pitch his tents, with as little delay as possible, within bow-shot of their walls, "to suppress insolencies, and see peace and obedience maintained." The deputy kept his word; and on the 4th of May, 1603, he appeared before Waterford at the head of 5,000 men, officered by sir R. Wingfield* and others who had distinguished themselves during Tyrone's war. The citizens at first refused to allow any of the troops to enter the town, however willing to welcome the king's deputy; but some of the chief among them, at his request, went to the camp, and brought with them, under safe-conduct, father White and a friar of St. Dominic's order, both wearing their clerical habits, and preceded by a cross-bearer. The soldiers witnessing this strange sight, jeered the sacred symbol, which they stupidly designated an "idol;" and when father White repudiated such indignity, sir Richard Wingfield, who seems to have belonged to the school of muscular theologians, threatened to put an end to the controversy by running father White through with his sword. The deputy, however, was a "bookish" man, at one period of his life inclined to Catholicity,†

* There is among the family pictures at Powerscourt, a portrait of this distinguished old warrior, whose lineal descendant, the present noble lord, has always proved himself most generous to his Catholic tenantry.

† Moryson.

and he listened patiently to father White on the right of resisting or disobeying the natural prince; but when the latter quoted some passage thereanent in the works of St. Augustin, Mountjoy caused to be brought to him out of his tent the identical volume, and showed, to the amazement of the by-standers, that the context explained away all the priest had asserted. That camp surely was the last place in the world where one might hope to hold an amicable discussion; and notwithstanding a long and learned vindication of Catholic doctrine and usages, poor father White heard from the deputy's lips that he was a "traitor," and worthy of condign punishment for bringing an *idol* into a Christian camp. Being asked by whose authority he opened the churches, father White* replied, "by the popes;" and thereon the deputy ordered them to be closed again by the mayor and city magistrates, in whose hands the wardens had placed them to save effusion of blood. Father White appeared in the camp a second time that day; fell on his knees before the deputy, begging liberty of conscience, free and open exercise of religion, protesting that the people would be ready to resist all foreign invasion were that granted; and, finally, beseeching that some of the ruined churches might be given to the Catholics, who were ready to rebuild them, and pay for them a yearly rent into his majesty's exchequer. But the deputy was inexorable; and all he could grant was leave to wear clerical clothes, and celebrate mass in private houses, without molestation from that class of bailiffs, then and afterwards known as priest-hunters.

On May 3rd, Mountjoy's army entered Waterford; the citizens repeated their oath of allegiance; and the

* He made his escape to Rome. See an interesting narrative of his adventures in Duffy's Irish Catholic Magazine, Dublin, 1848.

churches were made over to the Protestants, who, apart from this triumph of bigotry, would have been more warmly devout in less spacious edifices. From Waterford, the lord deputy despatched letters to some of the other towns, commanding the Catholics to close the churches; and doubtless, he must have laughed at the simplicity of the sovereign of Wexford, when that functionary wrote to him, as an excuse for his conduct, that he thought king James was a Catholic! The deputy raised his camp, May the 5th, and marched to Cork and Limerick, where he rated mayors and magistrates for their conduct in this business of the churches, and signified to them that none but the king could grant liberty of conscience—a moral sense which his majesty did not possess—but gave them the same privileges he had so graciously bestowed on the people of Waterford. From Cork he wrote to the earl of Tyrone to meet him in Dublin, and hold himself in readiness to accompany him to London; and then prosecuting his journey to the metropolis, through Cashel and other towns, he undid all that the clergy had done with the impulsiveness so inherent in the Celtic character, leaving, perhaps, to future statesmen, living above the atmosphere of effete prejudices, the duty of restoring to the Catholics of Ireland those grand old temples, whose proportions were never meant to accommodate a fragment of its people.*

But certainly nothing could have been more ill-timed than the conduct at which we have barely glanced, and which, although characterized by the deputy as a "revolt and a mutiny," was nothing more than a sort of insurrection known to schoolboys as a barring out. That

* Among the other churches specially mentioned in the deputy's despatches, is the "Black Abbey," Kilkenny, which has lately been restored by the Dominican friars.

it was inopportune is quite certain, for the southern cities and towns, any time within the preceding five years, might, had they wished to do so, have established their altars on broader and deeper foundations, by following the advice of Clement VIII.,* who offered them the same indulgences granted to those who fought in Palestine for the ransom of the holy sepulchre, provided they furnished no recruits to the queen's army, and incorporated themselves in that of "the magnanimous prince O'Neill." But they were influenced by inveterate prejudices; and no matter what the pontiff said, or the doctors of Salamanca propounded, about the *mortal guilt* of taking up arms against O'Neill, the antipathies of the southerns to their coreligionists of the north predominated, and they consequently could not perceive the right moment for striking a decisive blow. No one was more conscious of this want of cohesion and of the irresoluteness of his countrymen than the great chieftain of the north, and no man of his time could have deprecated it more energetically than he did, in the following manifesto,† which he caused to be published extensively through the southern provinces, and about Dublin :—

"*To the Catholics of the Towns in Ireland.*"

"Using hitherto more than ordinary favor towards all my countrymen who generally by profession are Catholics, and that naturally I am inclined to affect [esteem] you, I have for these and other considerations

* In 1599, when he sent a crown of peacock's feathers (the symbol of glory) to O'Neill, and a long letter, extolling his services to religion. The opinions of the Salamanca theologians are given in O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. Hib. See also Cardinal Cintio's letter to O'Neill, in Appendix.

† MS. Room, T.C.D.

abstained my forces from tempting to do you hindrance, and because I did expect that you would enter into consideration of the lamentable state of our poor country, most tyrannically oppressed, and of your own gentle consciences, in maintaining, relieving, and helping the enemies of God and our country, in wars infallibly tending to the promotion of heresy. But now seeing you are so obstinate in that which hereunto you continued of necessity, I must use severity against you (whom otherwise I most entirely love), in reclaiming you by compulsion. My tolerance and happy victories, by God's particular favor doubtless obtained, could work no alteration in your consciences, notwithstanding the great calamity and misery whereunto you are most likely to fall by persevering in that damnable state in which hereunto you have lived. Having commiseration on you, I thought it good to forewarn you, requesting every of you to come and join with me against the enemies of God and our poor country. If the same you do not, I will use means not only to spoil you of all your goods, but, according to the utmost of my power, shall work what I may to dispossess you of all your lands, because you are means whereby wars are maintained against the exaltation of the Catholic faith. Contrariwise, whosoever it shall be that shall join with me, upon my conscience, and as to the contrary I shall answer before God, I will employ myself to the utmost of my power in their defence, and for the extirpation of heresy, the planting of the Catholic religion, the delivery of our country of infinite murders, wicked and detestable policies, by which this kingdom was hitherto governed; nourished in obscurity and ignorance, maintained in barbarity and incivility; and consequently of infinite evils which were too lamentable to be rehearsed. And seeing these are motives most laudable before any men of

consideration, and before the Almighty most meritorious, which is chiefly to be respected, I thought myself in conscience bound, seeing God hath given me some power, to use all means for the reduction of this our poor afflicted country into the Catholic faith, which can never be brought to any good pass without either your destruction or helping hand; hereby protesting that I neither seek your lands nor goods; neither do I purpose to plant any in your places, if you will adjoin with me; but will extend what liberties and privileges that heretofore you have had, if it shall stand in my power, giving you to understand, upon my salvation, that chiefly and principally I fight for the Catholic faith to be planted throughout all our poor country, as well in cities as elsewhere, as manifestly might appear by that I rejected all other conditions proffered to me, this not being granted. I have already, by word of mouth, protested, and do now hereby protest, that if I had to be king of Ireland without having the Catholic religion, which before I mentioned, I would not the same accept. Take you example by that most Catholic country of France, whose subjects, for defect of Catholic faith, did go against their most natural king,* and maintained wars till he was constrained to profess the Catholic religion, duly submitting himself to the apostolic see of Rome, to the which, doubtless, we may bring our country, you putting your helping hand with me to the same. As for myself, I protest before God and upon my salvation, I have been proffered oftentimes such conditions as no man seeking his own private commodity could refuse; but I, seeking the public utility of my native country, will prosecute these wars until that generally religion be planted throughout all Ireland. So I rest, praying the

* Henry IV.

Almighty to move your flinty hearts to prefer the commodity and profit of our country before your own private ends."*

But no; not even the dint of that manifesto, with the ring of true steel in its every line, could strike a spark out of their hearts, for they were chalky. They turned pale at the sound of poor old Elizabeth's name while living; dreamed of a crisis that was never to come; suffered the right moment to pass ungrasped; and laid hold, as we have seen, of that avenging angel, who, the poets say, is ever attendant on the goddess they called "Opportunity."

* This document, now for the first time published, is dated Dungannon, Nov. 16, 1599, and subscribed "O'NEILL."

CHAPTER II.

MAY was far advanced when the lord deputy returned to Dublin; and while on his way thither, he received letters from the king, signifying that he was chosen one of the privy council in England, and created lord lieutenant of Ireland, with two-thirds of the deputy's allowance assigned to him. Sir George Carey, treasurer at wars, was named deputy during Mountjoy's absence with the other third part of the deputy's salary and his own pay as treasurer for his maintenance. The king also instructed Mountjoy that the royal pardon* had been passed to Tyrone under the great seal, and likewise all other grants which he, Mountjoy, by covenant or otherwise, had yielded to him; and concluded by requesting that "he would *induce* Tyrone to repair personally to London, as we think it very convenient for our service, and require you so to do; and if not, that at least you bring his son." Along with this letter came a *protection* for Tyrone and such of his as should come in his company, with instructions to all officers, ministers, and subjects to permit and suffer him and his to have and enjoy benefit of said protection, without restraint or molestation. The king, in fact, was most anxious to meet Tyrone, for the latter had done him

*. Pardon by the king makes the offender a new man, and acquits him of all forfeitures and penalties annexed to the offence for which he is pardoned.—Stephens' Com. on Blackstone.

good service in Ireland during the late queen's reign; so much so, that, after the victory of the Blackwater, he sent his secretary, O'Hagan, to Holyrood, to signify to his majesty, that if he supplied him with money and munitions, he would instantly march on Dublin, proclaim him king of Ireland, and set the crown upon his head. James, however, was too timid about the succession to the English throne to accept the offer.*

Everything having been made ready for the voyage, Mountjoy, followed by a brilliant suite, and accompanied by Tyrone and Rory O'Donel, embarked at Fyan's Castle, in the harbor of Dublin, on a fine evening at the close of May, 1603, on board his majesty's pinnace, Tramontana, and sailed for Holyhead. Mountjoy was anxious to salute the new sun, then just risen in the political horizon, and to bestow on him the same flattery† he had lavished on Elizabeth four years previously; and surely nothing could be more gratifying to his self-pride, than to conduct to the foot of the throne the ablest man, now vanquished and disarmed, who had ever presumed to dispute English rule on Irish ground. The Tramontana made a rapid passage, for early next morning the coast of Wales was sighted, and captain Floyd, the master, and Fynes Moryson, congratulated each other on their fortunate voyage. Their felicitations, however, were nigh proving premature; for an hour had scarcely elapsed when the sky became overcast, and a dense fog rising from the sea, enveloped every object in utter darkness. The pinnace, however,

* Craik's Romance of the Peerage.

† Just three years before the queen's death, Mountjoy wrote to her thus: "If, by all that I have, I may stop the gulf of these wars, by throwing myself to be swallowed up therein, I shall die a happy and contented Curtius; and one gracious thought of yours thrown after me, shall be more precious than all the jewels of the ladies of Rome; but, while I live, O let me live in your favor."

kept on her course, running swiftly before the wind with all sail bent, when a flight of gannets, screaming and whirling about the rigging, attracted the attention of the officer of the watch, who, concluding that the vessel was making right on to a dead lee-shore, called to the steersman to put the helm up. The stentorian voice in which the command was delivered, terrified the stoutest heart aboard; but happily the man at the tiller was equal to the occasion, and obeyed the order coolly and promptly. Not a moment too soon, however; for as the Tramontana went about and gathered fresh way, so near was she to the Skerries, that the boat hanging at her stern davits was stove in and dashed to pieces. Never had Mountjoy run greater risk at sea—not even when serving against the Armada; and, indeed, if those quick-eyed sea-birds had not given the alarm when they saw the pinnace bearing down on their desert habitation, he and his shipmates must have shared the fate of lord Thurles* and his companions, who perished on that same reef some sixteen years afterwards.

As the fog rolled away, and the great black rock became visible, the people on board the Tramontana were astonished at the narrowness of their escape; nor did Mountjoy recover his equanimity till the noon of that eventful day, when the vessel dropped anchor close to Beaumaris, where boats were waiting to take him and his suite ashore. Thence they rode rapidly to Chester, where they were entertained by the mayor; and, resuming their route, after spending the night in that city, they set out for London, escorted by detachments of horse at various intervals, according to the directions of the king, who, as we have said, had concerned himself about Tyrone's personal safety. Nor was this

* Lodge.

precaution unnecessary; for whenever the latter was recognized, in city or hamlet, the populace, notwithstanding their respect for Mountjoy, the hero of the hour, could not be restrained from stoning Tyrone, and flinging bitter insults at him. Indeed, throughout the whole journey, the Welsh and English women were unsparing of their invectives against the Irish chief; nor are we to wonder at this, for there was not one among them but could name some friend or kinsman whose bones lay buried far away in some wild pass or glen of Ulster, where the object of their maledictions was more often victor than vanquished.

Having reached London,* Mountjoy tarried there some hours, and then, with Tyrone, repaired to his seat at Wanstead, in Essex, to recover from his fatigue, and await the king's order to appear at court. The few days they passed at Wanstead† were spent in revelry; for the gentry and nobility assembled to congratulate the conqueror of the Irish and their Spanish auxiliaries, and to feast their eyes on that once redoubtable Tyrone, who was now the guest of Mountjoy. Some four and twenty years antecedent, the profligate Leicester entertained queen Elizabeth under that very roof; and among those who witnessed the pageants got up for her amusement, was Hugh, earl of Tyrone, then a young man, and to all appearances the sworn champion of English sovereignty in Ireland. But nearly all those whom he met there in his prime had passed away—meteors of the hour; and it is reasonable to suppose that as he paced the halls and galleries of that historic mansion, his memory must have teemed with visions of Essex, Burghley,

* According to Stowe, on 4th June.

† After Leicester's death it passed to his widow, who married sir C. Blount, and on decease of lord Devonshire the manor passed to the crown. James I. spent some days there in 1607.

Hatton, and others, in whose society he cultivated those qualities of mind and body that distinguished him in the council, court, and camp, and were thought worthy of being immortalized by the classic pen of Camden.* On the 6th June, a royal messenger from Hampton Court summoned the lord lieutenant to attend there on the day following, and to bring with him Tyrone and Rory O'Donel. Meanwhile, proclamation was made that his majesty had restored the latter to his favor, and that they should be of all men *honorably received*.† Nothing, indeed, could have been more gracious than the reception which the king gave those distinguished Irishmen; and so marked was the royal courtesy to both, that it stirred the bile of sir John Harington, who speaks of it thus :—"I have lived to see that damnable rebel, Tyrone, brought to England honored and well-liked. Oh, what is there that does not prove the inconstancy of worldly matters! How I did labor after that knave's destruction! I adventured perils by sea and land, was near starving, eat horse-flesh in Munster, and all to quell that man, who now smileth in peace at those who did hazard their lives to destroy him; and now doth Tyrone dare us, old commanders, with his presence and protection!"‡ This, indeed, was unworthy the first English translator of Ariosto,§ who had been

* Corpus laborum, vigiliæ, et inediæ patiens, industria magna, anima ingens, maximisque par negotiis, militiæ multa scientia, ad simulandum animi altitudo profunda, adeo ut nonnulli eum vel maximo Hiberniæ bono vel malo natum tunc prædixerint.—Annal. Reg. Eliz. A.D. 1590.

† Stowe.

‡ Letter to Dr. Still, bishop of Bath and Wells.

§ Describing a visit to Tyrone in 1599, sir John tells us that the earl's sons, Hugh and Henry, were between 13 and 15 years of age, dressed in English clothes, with velvet jerkins and gold lace, of good cheerful aspect, freckled, not tall, but strong, well set, and acquainted with the English tongue. With the vanity of author-

Tyrone's guest in the little island of Lough-Gall,* and there gave him a copy of his work ; but we may presume that he echoed the sentiments of many others envious as himself. Jealousies and grumblings notwithstanding, Tyrone and Rory O'Donel were treated with all outward show of attention by the king, and both were present in the great hall of Hampton Court when Mountjoy was created Earl of Devonshire.†

Tyrone was now restored in blood, or, as the jurists term it, made a "new man." His majesty also ordered that the 240 acres, mentioned in a former patent to be adjoined to the fort at the Blackwater, should be restored to him, in recompense of 600 acres, to be reserved to the other two forts of Charlemont and Mountjoy. But as restoration to all his lands without power to punish criminals would not have enabled him to plant and re-inhabit his country, the lords of the privy council, with the king's consent, gave him authority for martial law,‡

ship sir John adds, that "he read for Tyrone and friar Nangle some stanzas of the 45th canto, with which the earl was so pleased that he swore his sons should read the book over to him. The dinner in this island habitation of O'Neill was spread on a fern table, under the stately canopy of heaven ; and O'Neill's guard were beardless boys, who, in the frost, waded as familiarly through the rivers as water-spaniels. With what charm," concludes sir John, "such a master makes them love him, I know not ; but, if he bid come, they come ; if go, they go."—Nugæ Antiq. Harington was appointed (2 Jac. I.) seneschal of the O'Byrne's country, with power to pursue rebels with fire and sword. He was also charged to banish bards and rhymers out of his limits, and to *whip* them if they did not quit after proclamation duly made. Any bard or rhymer found tarrying in the pleasant glens or woodlands of Wicklow, twenty days after said proclamation, was to be tried by court-martial and executed. Hard usage for the bards of Glenmalure and Ballynacor, and surely too much authority for one of the same "irritable" profession!

* Co. Armagh. † 21st July, 1603.

‡ That is, absolute power for restoration of order and lawfully delegated authority, even by putting to death.

" to be executed upon any offenders that shall live under him, the better to keep them in obedience." Finally, it was ordered that the garrisons adjoining the earl's country should not meddle with him or his people; that all garrisons in Tyrone, except Charlemont or Mountjoy, should withdraw; and that Armagh should be held by English troops only for a time so long as it might be thought expedient. As for O'Donel, it was signified to him that he and his heirs male should hold all the country of Tyrconnel, with remainder to his brother Caffar and his cousin Donald Og O'Donel, *which his ancestors had many years past*, with all the lands and rights of ancient time belonging to the lands thereof, excepting abbeys and other spiritual livings, the castle and town of Ballyshannon, and 1,000 acres adjoining the fishing there. It was further provided, that O'Donel should renounce all claims upon sir Cahir O'Dogherty's and O'Connor Sligo's countries; and in lieu thereof, " because he had received so large a country as Tyrconnel for his inheritance," the king thought fit to grace him with the name, style, and honor of earl of Tyrconnel, to hold to him and his heirs male, with remainder to his brother Caffar, and that the heirs male apparent should be created barons of Donegal.*

Another suitor for royal favors at this period, was sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and to him was passed a grant of all manors, castles, advowsons, passed by patent to his father, sir John O'Dogherty;† excepting some spiritual livings, with moiety of all felons' goods, " wayfes and strayes;" to hold by a

* To said Rory was granted at same time a custodiam of all abbeys, &c., within county of Tyrconnel, till we shall otherwise dispose of them. The aforesaid grants were all given under privy seal, at Tottenham Court, Sept. 4, 1603.

† 15th June, 30 Eliz.

knight's fee to him and his heirs, with remainder to John and Rory O'Dogherty, brothers of said sir Cahir; reserving payment of an annual rent of thirty beeves, and "rising out" of twenty foot and six horse; reserving also the castle of Culmore and three hundred acres adjoining, and the whole fishings of Culmore;* allowing him and his heirs four salmon per day during fishing time, with promise, in time of peace, that he and his heirs shall have a custodiam of said castle, lands, and fishings, without rent or duty.

While these weighty matters were in progress, Tyrone was closely dogged at every step he took by one Robert Atkinson, chief of a gang of murderers, who, during the queen's lifetime, was employed by Cecil and sir George Carew,† president of Munster, to assassinate him; and as the report which Atkinson made before a notary-public, and which, of course, was duly presented to Cecil,‡ throws considerable light on Tyrone's movements before returning to Ireland, and the suspicion with which he was still regarded by the ministers, we deem this the fitting place for its insertion :—

* The custodiam of Culmore was granted to Henry Harte (3 Jac. I.), with all fishings thereunto belonging excepted out of sir Cahir O'Dogherty's patent, to hold for twenty-one years, at the rent of ten shillings, to maintain said castle, buildings, &c.—Erck's Inrolments.

† He wrote from Cork, June, 1601, to sir R. Cecil, thus :—"MacThomas, to redeem his own life, promises to get me Tyrone, alive or dead, and I have put him in confident hope that, upon that service done, the queen will be gracious to him."

‡ The character of this wily politician is drawn by sir R. Weston, lord high treasurer to James I., thus :—

> "Owning a mind of dismal ends,
> As traps for foes and tricks for friends."
>
> —Weldon's Mem. of Eliz. and James I.

"At his majesty's last being at Hampton, where he [Atkinson] was a suitor, he saw one called father Archer* alight from his horse, whereon he was well mounted, at the earl of Tyrone's lodging in Kingston, whom he forthwith saw entertained by one of the earl's servants, and conducted up to his lodging, wherein his lordship then was, and thither Archer often afterwards frequented, as he had formerly done at the earl's being lodged at Chelsea, some whiles following the earl to the court, and in company-keeping of those Irish knights and gentlemen which are in the Tower, and sir Christopher Plunkett, sir Edward Fitzgerald, and others of that nation, in divers kinds of apparel, sometimes like a courtier, and other whiles like a farmer or chapman of the country.

"Him he well knew in Ireland, where he saw him as chief commander over the Irish troops of rebels, horse and foot, for his own guard, commanding as many as himself pleased, and for any murders, burnings, spoils, or other bloody actions that were to be exploited upon any of the English nation or favorers of the English government, called commonly the pope's legate and archprelate over all others in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and also the O'Neale's, or of others called Tyrone's confessor, as he had been the archduke's† confessor of Austria, and in England is said to be the earl's massing priest, daily to execute his function of a Jesuit for masses, absolution, and such like, as for others the knights and Irish gentlemen with whom he is

* A Jesuit, and chaplain to O'Moore of Leix, 1600. He was present at the arrest of earl of Ormond by O'Moore, same year. Archer was in England, 1603, collecting money for the Irish seminary in Salamanca, and is reputed author of a little book, entitled, "Il Cappuccino Scozese." The O'Moore of Leix is now represented by Rt. Hon. Moore O'Farrell.

† Albert married Isabella, daughter of Philip II. of Spain.

conversant, howsoever near unto the king's court they may happen to be lodged.

"By this traitorous priest, Archer, the earl of Ormond was taken prisoner, in a day of parliance the earl of Thomond held with the O'Moores and O'Connors in Leix, most perfidiously, against all laws of arms, and notwithstanding that he was born an obliged follower of the earl's in Kilkenny, yet he practised much cruelty against him and sought his death; and of all the priests that ever were, is held for the most bloody and treacherous traitor; sure unto none in friendship that will not put his decrees into action, by warrant of his apostolical authority, as he calleth it, by bull from the see of Rome, from time to time renewed at his pleasure. And is grown to be so absolute powerful, in holding the greatest lords in awful obedience, as none dare or will, for anything, gainsay him; but, notwithstanding whatsoever oaths, vows, and conclusions are passed from Tyrone unto the king's majesty during his being here, at their returns to their countries, it is verily believed that he will, and can, divert Tyrone and all the rest from the king, and thrust them again into actual rebellion, as formerly he and doctor Creagh* did, not only Tyrone, but also the viscount Mountgarrett, the viscount Roche, and many thousands that would gladly live at rest, and cannot, for their restless workings; but, as sheep, are chased by such Romish wolves to their utter destruction, *are still labored to run* into rebellion, and so would do in hatred of the English nation and government, albeit they might have their unlawful *desires* for toleration of religion, wherein, without controlment,

* Bishop of Cork, who, it seems, was protected by Miler Magrath, the apostate bishop of Down, and afterwards queen's archbishop of Cashel. Sir George Carew, writing to Cecil, October, 1600, says: "Cahir can deliver doctor Creagh when he lists."

they run their own courses, without feeling of penal laws.

"At Kingston, also, he often saw, in company of the before-named knights and gentlemen in the Tower, and that are their countrymen at liberty, a secular priest, called father Hussy, well-horsed, and in their companies, with feathers in his hat, as gallantly attired as any knight in the court, for whose apprehensions the honorable sir George Humes, chancellor and treasurer of the exchequer, directed a warrant to one William Atkinson, a kinsman of this relator's. Howbeit this relator, for some friendly respects he bare unto some of the knights in whose companies it was intended he should have been apprehended, whereof they might have received discredit or trouble, gave such forewarning thereof to one of the knights as he escaped, and is thought to be returned, in sir Christopher Plunkett's company, for Ireland, or to be with Archer, following of Tyrone, and, by policy, may be surprised together, either about the court or at their taking of shipping, about Westchester, for Ireland. He is also of opinion, that not only these Romish priests, but also many others, in their disguised manners, following of Tyrone, do much frequent the Spanish and French ambassadors', to pry into the secrets of states and foreign legations, with whom and their priests there is over much correspondency, for better directing of their bad actions, and there may they be in some likelihood surprised.

"All which he leaveth, for discharge of his duty, to the honorable consideration of such unto whom the premises do most appertain, with confirmation of his subscription to be made good against Tyrone, if he shall stand upon the denial, as it is not unlike, as being unwilling to forego his confessor or ghostly father, no less able than ready, as they take it, for dispensing with

any oaths, or other execrable impieties; in one day being of ability to put into actual rebellion many more thousands than, by all the queen's forces and means used, have been recalled and repressed in many years, during whose suffrances, therefore, they may thus range amongst English or Irish subjects there, and be no hope of settled peace, in Ireland especially.

"Archer is in stature somewhat tall, black, and in visage long and thin; born in Kilkenny.

"Repeated and certified before me, by setting his name to every page as appeareth.

"In presence of

"WILLIAM HARRISON."*

Another assassin of Atkinson's class, named Bird, who followed the same infamous calling in Ireland, wrote to lord Devonshire, offering, if he were paid for doing so, to waylay the Jesuit Archer, "who," says this unscrupulous scoundrel, "hath been a most harmful traitor, and hath drawn more English blood than all others of his sort in Ireland." As for the earl of Tyrone, Bird would follow him to Chester, and kill him too, if ordered to do so; "for," concludes this mendacious hireling, "if he, Tyrone, had been *disciplined* by the laws, for strangling, *with his own barbarous hands*, his cousin-german,† then had his rebellions been prevented. Seeing, therefore, that neglect of good laws *for respectiveness to persons, either for greatness or religion* (for the rich devil hath ever more friends than poor Christ), has been the cause whereby Ireland was

* S. P. O. Sept. 1603.

† Tyrone refuted this odious calumny, which has been perpetuated by Camden, in a letter to the lords of the privy council. He did cause Hugh na-Gavaloc, one of Shane O'Neill's sons, to be executed for various murders; but he brought hangmen from the county Cavan *to finish the law.*

far hazarded; so it is the more to be hoped that your lordship will set forward *the cutting off* such unpostumate members."* But Devonshire would not give Bird a commission to murder; and Tyrone and O'Donel reached Dublin safely about the middle of August, 1603, dissatisfied, all outward show to the contrary notwithstanding, with the reservations specified in their respective patents, which took from them a large amount of the customs, duties, and rents, which from immemorial time their forefathers were wont to receive from their vassals.

On the 29th September, Rory O'Donel appeared in the old cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, and there, in presence of Loftus, the king's archbishop, and sundry noblemen, heralds, and other officials, was duly invested with the style and title of earl of Tyrconnel, and empowered to have a place and seat in all parliaments and general councils in Ireland. It was the first time the people of Tyrconnel ever heard of such a title borne by any of their chiefs, and it seemed to them nowise comparable to the old name of "O'Donel," which his forefathers were wont to take upon them after solemn inauguration in the church of Kilmacrenan. Soon after his installation,† he formed an alliance with the most noble family of Kildare, by marrying Brigid, daughter of Henry, twelfth earl of that name, and then repaired to his own country, where he immediately set about rebuilding the old Franciscan convent, which had been destroyed during the late war by his brother-in-law, Nial Garve, and his English allies.‡

* S. P. O.

† On the same occasion Richard, baron of Delvin, was knighted.

‡ Father Mooney, for an account of whose valuable history of the Irish Franciscans, see "Noctes Lovanienses," in Duffy's Hib. Mag.,

The social condition of Ireland, on the return of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, was most deplorable, for its government had fallen into the hands of a deputy, whose former occupation of paymaster-general to the forces made him a thorough adept in sordid peculation. In fact, he was a grinding money-lender, who availed himself of the base currency of the period to enrich himself and his followers, by setting up offices of exchange in the large towns of the island; and a proclamation, issued in the last days of Elizabeth, forbidding the circulation of silver coin in Ireland, and commanding all payments to be made in the debased coinage, helped him and his underlings to make large profits, since every article of consumption was trebled, and oftentimes quintupled in price. The army, not yet disbanded, was mutinous; the country half ruined; but sir George Carey gave himself little trouble about soldier or civilian, so long as he could turn his place to profitable account. On the question of religion and toleration, he echoed the sentiments of the king, had a holy dread of a Spanish landing, and an utter abhorrence of the pope, Jesuits,

comments on the new title of O'Donel thus: "Rodericus creatus est comes Tirconnelliæ, eratque primus familiæ suæ qui comes dictus est, nec tanti faciebant populi terræ suæ nomen illud quanti faciebant nomen O'Donel." He also tells that Rory set about restoring the convent, but, owing to embarrassments, was not able to complete the work. The "Noctes Lovanienses," almost literally translated from F. Mooney's MS., contain an accurate history of the venerable edifice, from its foundation to its fall; and it is almost unnecessary to state that the Annals of the Four Masters were compiled in the vicinity, if not within the ruins of that celebrated house. Five years after earl Rory's flight, Montgomery, the king's bishop of Derry, suggested the erection of a college for educating such as could not maintain themselves in the college of Dublin, and wrote: "The king hath now in his hands the abbey of Donegal, lately re-edified in part by Tyrconnel, which, with less charge, may be made fit for that purpose."—Mem. of Templemore.

and seminary priests from beyond the seas. Nothing, however, can throw more light on the state of Ireland during his short administration, than the following letters, which reflect so vividly his avarice and intolerance :—

"*To the lords of the privy council.*

"Most honorable and my very good lords,—I have received your lordships' letters of the 14th of the last, signifying thereby that I should give my lord of Tyrone, or his assign, a bill of exchange for £600, which, under your lordships' good favor, I am unwilling to perform ; and do humbly beseech your good lordships to pardon me therein, for having formerly received your lordships' commandment not to give out any more bills of exchange, and so have answered all men accordingly, which is very grievous to the servitors [soldiers], and would be more discontenting unto them if they should understand that I give bills of exchange to my lord of Tyrone and others, that have no entertainment of his majesty, and shall refuse to do the like favor to his majesty's poor servitors, that have no means to live but of such entertainment that they receive of his majesty's pay, which now stands them in no stead, since they are barred from the benefit of exchange. I wish your lordships did understand what persuasions and means I use to give content unto them in their miseries, assuring them that his majesty, by your lordships' good means, will speedily give them relief. I honor and love my lord of Tyrone, being now a good subject ; but if I should perform what your lordships command me in this case, I should presently draw a general discourt upon me of all the servitors in the kingdom. They conceive hardly enough of me already in these businesses, and therefore I do most humbly beseech your lordships not to impose too much

distastefulness upon me; for when they shall see that others are more respected than they, their discontentments will be the greater. By the living God, I swear to your lordships if I had money, I had rather leave the money out of my own purse than to breed myself such dislike. And, again, here is already such a mass of this base money brought into exchange, that it grieves my heart to see it; and in the end I shall be found an unprofitable servant, and your lordships may be pleased to understand that now the king's highness hath no means to reutter this new money. His majesty doth lose in every £600 £450, which his highness were as good to pay in sterling, by the way of gift out of his coffers. Thus hoping your lordships will not take any offence to my doings, do in all humbleness take my leave.

"Dublin, this 13th of August, 1603.

"Your lordships' to commandment,

"GEORGE CAREY."

"*To the lord Cecil, baron of Essenden.*

"This country of late so swarms with priests, Jesuits, seminarists, friars, and Romish bishops, that I assure your lordship that if there be not speedy means used to free this kingdom of this wicked rabble, which labor to draw the subjects' hearts from their due obedience to their prince, much mischief will burst forth in very short time; for there are here so many of this wicked crew, that are able to disquiet four of the greatest kingdoms in Christendom. It is high time they were banished from hence, and none to receive, or aid, or relieve them. Let the judges and officers be sworn to the supremacy; let the lawyers go to the church and show conformity, or not plead at the bar; and then the rest

by degrees will shortly follow.* Here will be much ado at Michaelmas, when this great caste of 4,000 shall be. I would God the king had some use of their services in some other place, for here will they live upon spoil and to do mischief; labor will they never, and rob will they still. The heavenly God bless your lordship always, and give me grace to deserve your favor.

"Dublin, September 3, 1603.

"Your lordship's always to do you service,

"GEORGE CAREY."

Little more remains to be told of this deputy, except that he made the first sheriffs for Tyrone and Tyrconnel, when sir E. Pelham, chief baron, and sir John Davys,† were the first justices of assize that went into these counties; and that he reduced Wicklow, which so long had been a "thorn in the side of the pale," into shire ground, and laid open its "*passes*." He held the deputyship about nine months, and returned to Cockington, Devon, with a large fortune, which he amassed by transmuting brass and leather tokens into sterling bullion. Surely sir George must have found the philosopher's stone!‡

Before Carey left Ireland, the king selected sir Arthur

* When news of the defeat of the Armada reached Ireland, Adam Loftus commanded the Catholic lawyers to assist at *Te Deum* in the Protestant churches; but they refused, and left the city, although, says Loftus, it was *term time*.

† He came to Ireland as solicitor-general, November, 1603, and was made attorney-general soon after.

‡ His nephew, sir Edward Carey, of Marldon, Devon, was a most steadfast Catholic, and suffered severely for his religion. R. S. S. Carey, Esq., of Torr Abbey, Torquay, is now head of the family, which ranks among the first of the English Catholic gentry. The author has advisedly abstained from dwelling here on sir George's gross injustice to Tyrone and Tyrconnel, as a succinct account of his misconduct will be given hereafter.

Chichester to fill the deputyship ; and as this remarkable personage was destined to act a leading part in the drama we have attempted to exhibit, a brief sketch of his antecedents will not be thought out of place. The family of Chichester was of great antiquity in Devon ; and one of them, Walleran de Cirencester, was bishop of Exeter in 1128. Arthur, the future deputy, was second son of sir John Chichester and Gertrude Courtenay, and was born at Raleigh, an ancient inheritance of their house. He studied at Oxford, but being convicted of robbery while there, he gave up books for the sword, and took service in queen Elizabeth's army. That he distinguished himself in the field there can be no doubt, for Henry IV. of France conferred on him the honor of knighthood. He also commanded a ship of war in queen Elizabeth's time, 1587, and served under sir Francis Drake in Portugal and the West Indies. He came to Ireland with the Earl of Essex ; and on that deputy's retirement, served in various actions under Mountjoy in Ulster, till April, 1603, when he was named a privy councillor, appointed governor of Carrickfergus, admiral of Lough Neagh, and commander of the fort of Mountjoy, &c., &c. During these services he often had reason to own that he had been foiled by the military genius of O'Neill, who regarded him as a very poor general ; and this will account for the contempt they entertained for one another. Sir Arthur, indeed, was deficient in depth of intelligence, but thoroughly skilled in intrigue and every species of low trick, malignant, cruel, and utterly devoid of sympathy, because solely intent on his own aggrandizement.* His physiognomy was most repulsive and petrifying, so much so, that

* Lloyd, in his State Worthies, says of Chichester :—"The devil brought the bashful man to court, where none succeeds but he who can ask ene' to be granted, and ene' to be abated."

looking at his engraved portrait, one is inclined to wonder that he ever sat to a painter. His religion, if what he professed deserve the name, was Puritanism of the most rigid character, which he learned in the school of the fanatical Cartwright; and with these qualifications king James regarded him as the fittest man he could find to carry out his policy in Ireland, of which he was appointed deputy-general, early in February, 1603, to hold during pleasure in the absence of the lieutenant-general, Mountjoy, with the third part of all allowances made to same.

Chichester inaugurated his deputyship by sending justices of assize into Connaught, and retrieving the circuit of Munster, which had been discontinued over two centuries—thus causing the influence of English jurisdiction to be extended far beyond the boundaries of the pale, reducing Irish countries into shire ground, abolishing such ancient rents as cuttings, cosheries,* spendings, and banishing the O'Moores, Lawlors, and other old Irish septs of the Queen's county, out of

* Revenues of chieftains, consisting of provisions consumed in their own or their vassals' houses during visitations. It must be borne in mind, that money-rent was little known in Ireland in the time of James I.; and the description sir John Davys has left us of Maguire's mensal lands, throws a strong light on the mènage of an Irish lord at that period: "Maguire's mensal lands yield a large proportion of meal, butter, and other provisions for his table." He also tells how an old Brehon drew a parchment roll from his bosom, showing how many vessels of butter, measures of meal, how many porks and other such gross duties did arise to Maguire out of his mensal lands. Besides this, Maguire received annually 240 beeves from the seven baronies under him, and had about 1,000 acres in demesne around Enniskillen, which his *churls* cultivated for him. The earl of Tyrone's mensal lands lay about Dungannon, Benburb, and Strabane; and Fynes Moryson says of the latter, that he levied taxes, during his war, of £80,000 per annum in Ulster; and that his principal tenant, O'Cahan, paid him tribute in the shape of cattle, salmon, &c., and paid homage at his inauguration, and served him in the field.

the whole province of Leinster, into Munster and Connaught. As to the Irish lords and gentlemen who formerly were made, under the great seal, chieftains of the respective countries, which they held by *tanistry*, he resolved to make no such grants, but, on the contrary, obliged the said lords and gentlemen to surrender their lands and titles, and take new estates by letters-patent from the crown. Such a course as this, which may be termed an innovation on the policy of his predecessors, made Chichester still more detestable to the old Irish lords and landholders ; and, as if to intensify their disgust, he set about what he terms a "reformation of religion," by directing all his evil energies against the professors of that faith, of which one of his own blood was a bishop, in the reign of king Stephen.* In all these *reformations* he was materially assisted by sir John Davys, who suggested the plan of finding titles for the crown through the instrumentality of suborned agents, to whom commissions were granted to inquire for all wards, marriages without licence of the crown, concealments, forfeitures, and the like ; so that no man, high or low, of the Irish, no matter how old his title might be, could claim estate in his hands till it pleased the deputy and his chief adviser to acknowledge it. Davys himself, in a letter to Cecil, has given us a lively picture of the knaves who were employed to do this work, with the deputy's commission in their hands :—

"They retire," says he, "into some corner of the counties, and in some obscure village execute their commission ; and there, having a *suborned* jury, find

* Sir Arthur employed Daniel, the king's archbishop of Tuam, to translate the Book of Common Prayer into Irish, and compelled the Irish of every parish to rebuild the ruined churches for the benefit of the Protestants.

one man's land concealed, another man's lease forfeited for non-payment of rent, and another man's land holden of the king in capite. This being done, they never return their commissions; but send for the parties and compound with them, and make a booty upon the country."*

Much reason, indeed, had the Irish lords to complain of Chichester's conduct in this particular, for he left them completely at the mercy of escheators, surveyors, and such like, whose object was to take away their lands by forgeries, erasures of records, perjuries, and other devices, which must have sounded wondrous strange to Irish ears.

With such harpies hovering on their borders, and only waiting the deputy's permission to swoop down on them, Tyrone and Tyrconnel must have had reason to apprehend that their possessions, diminished as they were by the loose patents recently passed to them, ran great risk of being similarly visited. The time, however, had not yet come for dealing so sharply with them, for Ulster swarmed with armed men who had served in their ranks, and there was still some reason for imagining that Philip III. of Spain might, by way of retaliation for James' support of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, send another expedition to the Irish shores.† With the dread of this contingency hourly troubling his mind, Chichester resolved to disarm the *native* Irish,

* One of these agents was Francis Shane, who, using his special knowledge of the country to search out such cases, was afterwards knighted. Shane accused the celebrated Boyle, first earl of Cork, of malversations of this sort, in a paper styled "Abuses committed by Boyle and Capstock, an English lawyer."

† James concluded a truce with the king of Spain, August, 1604, six months after date of Chichester's proclamation, by which it was stipulated that neither of the monarchs was to give countenance to the revolted subjects of the other.

and thus render them powerless, whether the Spaniards came or stayed. To effect this, he issued a proclamation,* forbidding "the *kernes*† to carry swords, *targets*, *pikes*, *shot* [fire-arms], *head-pieces*, *horsemen's-staves*, *long-sheares*, and other warlike weapons;" and commanding same to be delivered into the hands of the officers of the various garrisons, who were directed to make a return of such arms, every two or three months, to the governor of the countries or forts next adjoining. All Irishmen violating this order were to be arrested, and committed to jail, without fine or mainprise, for five days; and the officers seizing said arms were to have one moiety of their value in money, to be paid by the treasurer, on certificate of the governor of the nearest fort. There was a reservation, however, in favor of the lords of the English pale, loyal merchants and *other good subjects*, who, by writing to the deputy, or governors of the garrisons near which they resided, could obtain licence to carry arms, either about their own houses, or while travelling through the country. This exceptional policy was well calculated to spread discontent, by showing the northern Irish that they were regarded as an inferior class, unworthy the privileges enjoyed by their coreligionists of the pale, and not to be trusted with weapons of defence, at a time when same were as much part of a man's attire as was his hat or mantle.

But nothing can prove more clearly how little the

* See it in Appendix.

† They were lightly-equipped infantry, armed with bow, spear, sword, and skein. Thus Shakspeare—

> "The merciless MacDonnell,
> From the Western Isles,
> Of kernes and gallowglasses is supplied."

A body of kernes served at the siege of Boulogne, 1544.

king and his deputy thought of harmonizing their policy with the conscience of the Irish people, who, though conquered, were not yet subdued, than their intolerance of the old religion, and the despotism with which they visited those whom they could not induce to swear the oath of supremacy. In fact, the indecent haste with which James revoked his solemn promise, of allowing Catholics the exercise of their religion *in private*, so shocked their susceptibilities, that they began to think they could place no reliance on the word of one so faithless, and that the act of oblivion, published on his accession, was merely a piece of statecraft devised to compass their extirpation. Such an inference was not wholly illogical; for early in 1605, Chichester, by the king's order, published a proclamation which revived the old statutes of Elizabeth, with their execrable tariff of penalties to be inflicted on *Romanists*, or such as presumed to remain firm in the ancient faith, instead of conforming to that of a monarch who, while delighting to hear himself styled "the modern Solomon," was steeped to the lips in every species of grossest sensuality.* Even at this distance of time, it is easy to realize the astonishment with which the Irish Catholics of cities, towns and hamlets must have perused that proclamation commanding them to assist at the Church of England service; proscribing priests and other ecclesiastical persons ordained by authority from the see of Rome; forbidding parents to send their children to seminaries beyond the seas; and all Catholics, noble or gentle, to keep, as private tutors, other than those licensed by the Protestant archbishop, bishop, or other guardian of the spiritualities of the diocese in which

* For James' true characteristics, see sir J. Harington's "Nugæ Antiquæ," where the abominations of his court are vividly depicted.

they lived. As for the mass, it was a treasonable offence; and whosoever celebrated it was liable to a fine of two hundred marks and a year's imprisonment; and any one who dared to go over to the *Romish* Church, since the king had utterly refused to allow freedom of conscience, was to be deemed a traitor, and subjected to a like penalty. Churchwardens were to make a monthly return of all who absented themselves from church. and, on presentment of same, when the party was indicted or convicted of absence, said wardens, constables, and others of that calling, were to have a reward of 40s., to be levied out of the recusant's estate and goods. We have here only glanced at a few sections of the king's ordinance, and, without dwelling longer on such outrageous despotism, it will suffice to remark that it left the Irish Catholic no alternative save that of abjuring either his faith or his country.*

Chichester lost no time in executing the royal will; for he summoned sixteen of the chief citizens and alder-

* The oath of abjuration was of this tenor: "You shall swear that you shall depart out of this realm and out of all other his majesty's dominions; and that you shall not return hither but by license of our sovereign lord the king and his heirs. So help you God." Wilkinson has given another form of abjuration, thus: "I, ..., in the county of . . . ., am a Popish recusant; and in contempt of the statutes and laws of this realm of England, I have, and do refuse to come to hear divine service there read and exercised; I do, therefore, according to intent and meaning of the statute (35th Eliz.), abjure the land and realm of James, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; and I shall hasten towards the port of . . . . . , which you have assigned to me; and that I shall not go out of the highway leading thither, nor return back again; and if I do, I will that I be taken as a felon; and that, at the port of . . . . . , I will diligently seek for a passage, and I will tarry there but one flood and ebb, if I can have passage; and unless I can have it in such place, I will go every day into the sea up to my knees, essaying to pass over. So God me help, and his holy judgment." Cawley's Laws of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I. concerning Jesuits, &c. London, 1680.

men of Dublin before the privy council, where nine of the aldermen were *censured* for their recusancy—six of them being fined each in £100, and the other three in £50 each, after being sentenced to imprisonment in the castle during pleasure. The king congratulated his deputy on this tyrannical conduct, and told him "that he hoped many, by such means, would be brought to conformity in religion, who, hereafter, will give thanks to God for being drawn by *so gentle a constraint* to their own good." It was also decreed by the privy council, that no citizen could be eligible to any office under the crown till he had conformed; and when the old Catholic families of the pale remonstrated against such severity, the chiefest of them were flung prisoners into Dublin Castle; and sir Patrick Barnwell, their agent, was sent, by order of the king, to London, where he was committed to the Tower for contempt.

At this time, Henry Usher* was the king's archbishop of Armagh, and being, of course, very zealous "for the extension of true religion," he published the proclamation, forbidding all papists in Dungannon, and throughout his diocese, to assist at mass, on pain of forfeiture of their goods and imprisonment; adding, that no ecclesiastic should hold any cure or dignity unless he took the oath of supremacy, and resorted to the reformed churches: those refusing to conform, being actually deprived of their dignities, benefices, &c. The earl of Tyrone was indignant; and he instantly despatched a temperate remonstrance to the lord deputy, and his agent, Usher; but it was treated with scorn by both, for it was their duty to enforce the king's pleasure. At this period, also, the same proclamation was published through the diocese of Raphoe, where, in the absence

* Uncle to the learned James, subsequently archbishop of Armagh.

of Montgomery,* the king's bishop, a posse of miscreants, sent thither by Chichester, hunted the priests like wolves, and forbade the exercise of Catholic worship in the earl of Tyrconnel's residence. He, too, remonstrated, but was told by the deputy, while sitting at his table, in presence of divers noblemen and others, that he should resolve to conform, or else be forced to do so. Tyrconnel observed, that the king had given his royal word for toleration of Catholic usages in private; but Chichester replied, that his majesty had made up his mind to disallow liberty of conscience, and, consequently, that he and his people should, whether they liked it or not, repair, as the proclamation required, to the Protestant churches. Apart from the folly of the king, who had taken into his head that an entire nation should, at his bidding, apostatize from the creed of their fathers, the publishing such a manifesto in Dungannon, Donegal, and elsewhere, was a bitter insult to the northern chieftains, whose wars were *crusades*—the natural consequence of faith—stimulated

* He was brother to the laird of Braidstanes, who got into James' favor before his accession to the crown of England, and was soon afterwards created lord Montgomery of Ards. He held the deanery of Norwich, but seeing that "*a good fortune might be made in Ireland*," he had interest enough to get himself created bishop of Derry, Clogher and Raphoe, in 1605, "which three dioceses," says sir John Davys, "comprise the chiefest part of Ulster, *now united for one man's benefit*." Montgomery, however, did not appear in Ireland, continues sir John, till two years after his appointment, "which has been the cause why this poor people hath not been reduced to Christianity; and, therefore, *majus peccatum habet*." Davys further remarks, "that there were three bishoprics in Ulster—Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, which neither queen Elizabeth, nor any of her progenitors, did ever bestow, so as king James was the first king of England that supplied these sees with bishops." Montgomery, one of the most rapacious of his calling that ever came to Ireland, surrendered Derry and Raphoe in 1610, and was translated to Meath, which he held, with the rich see of Clogher, till his death in 1620.

by the Roman pontiffs, and assisted by Spain, then the most Catholic kingdom in the world. But proclamation and persecution notwithstanding, the people of Tyrone and Tyrconnel were true to their lords, though fallen, and, by their fidelity to the old religion, proved that they "could conquer him that did their masters conquer." Their condition was, doubtless, rendered still more trying by the absence of Peter Lombard,* their

* He was son of a Waterford merchant, and succeeded M'Gauran in the primacy, but could not return to his diocese owing to the personal dislike which James I. entertained for him, and the doom that awaited him had he ventured to set foot on Irish soil. Lombard, however, administered the spiritualities of Armagh through the agency of the celebrated David Rothe, whom he empowered to perform that dangerous duty by commission, dated 1609. In early life, Lombard was pupil of Camden, who describes him "as a youth of admirable docility." He insinuates, also, in a letter to Usher (see Parr's life), "that he had brought Lombard, and others popishly inclined, to the Church." Be that as it may, Lombard was subsequently appointed dean of the cathedral of Cambray, and, as we have said, archbishop of Armagh. He spent the greater part of his life in Rome, where he was greatly esteemed by Clement VIII., to whom he dedicated his book, De Regno. Hib. The work was not published till 1632, when it excited the spleen of Charles I., who spoke of it in a letter to Strafford, then lord deputy of Ireland, thus: "His majesty, understanding that there is one Petrus Lombardus, or one that calls himself so, who hath lately published a dangerous book concerning O'Neale, requests you to suppress the book, and send some copies of it to my lord of Canterbury, and *to call the author to account for it.*" It would have been hard for Strafford to do so, for Lombard died in 1625, in the monastery of S. Pietro Palomba, in the neighborhood of Rome, near Horace's Mons Lucretilis. Strafford's letter, Nov. 20, 1633, states that he had suppressed some copies of the book in Ireland. Even then the name of O'Neill was a terror to the British cabinet, and one can imagine with what feelings Strafford must have perused the eulogistic stanzas prefixed to the archbishop's work :—

"Subjungit mediis ut pugnet O'Neillus in armis,
Quam patriæ princeps utilis ille suæ !
Strenuus ille suam patriam, fero ab hoste tuetur,
Tuque tuam terram, mi polyhistor amas,
Et quantum forti, bona patria, debet O'Neillo
Tantum Lombardo debeat usque suo."

own chief pastor, then at Rome, and by the remembrance of his predecessor, ruthlessly slain by Bingham, in Clontuskret, some years previously.* While the king was dealing thus with the Irish Catholics in their own country, his ambassador in Spain was intriguing at Valladolid, to obstruct the promotion of Henry, Tyrone's second son, who had been gazetted to the colonelcy of a regiment of Irish in the service of the archduke Albert and Isabella of the Netherlands. On this subject sir C. Cornwallis wrote to lord Salisbury thus :—

"I hold him a man unfit to be trained in that exercise, especially to be a leader of so many of his country and disposition—that he has sucked from his cradle the malignant milk of an evil disposition, and that this country, where he hath so long continued, hath nothing amended him. I wrote to Sir T. Edmunds, ambassador at the court of the archduke, to procure a stay of his entrance into the charge of a regiment, until I might write to your lordship to procure his calling home."

Edmunds, however, did *not* procure his recall, for he wrote a few months afterwards :—

"Young Tyrone had been with me since his coming into these parts, and hath assured me that the council of Spain were so careful, as before they would proceed to confer upon him that place of colonel which he holdeth, that they procured that his majesty James I. was moved therein by the Spanish ambassador in England, who returned to them with his majesty's good allowance thereof; and besides that he was particularly

* July, 1593. See O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. Hib. p. 158.

recommended by my lord high admiral at his being in Spain."*

Cornwallis' malevolence needs no comment; but we may well wonder at the inconsistency of James, who, while wounding the tenderest susceptibilities of Tyrone, was fain to connive at his son's promotion, probably because he could not hinder it.

It would be absurd to suppose that the northern earls would not be discontented by the conduct of the king's deputy and his underlings, for it exposed them to hourly outrage by delators, who were ever on the alert to see the provisions of the royal proclamation carried out, and to furnish reports to the executive in Dublin. Ruffians by nature and calling, they were not afraid to commit any discourtesy, knowing that they were countenanced by the state; so much so, that it was not unusual with them to *force* their way into Tyrone's house, to ascertain that he did or did not shelter ecclesiastics come from Rome or Spain, and proscribed by law. But another and more detestable motive actuated the deputy, for he hoped that his unjustifiable proceedings would hurry Tyrone and Tyrconnel into some act of violence, which the ingenuity of sir John Davys might easily magnify to the proportions of high treason. Tyrone, however, was too wary for them; and although he more than once complained that he could not enjoy "a carouse" under his own roof that was not instantly reported to the castle, he was not to be tempted to fall into the toils that were spread for him. Tyrconnel, on the other hand, was much younger, far less phlegmatic, and less disposed to put up with insult; and it would appear that he

* This letter, dated Brussels, Sept., 1605, tells the exact time of Henry O'Neill's promotion.

was completely under the influence of Cuconnaught Maguire,* who, although promised by Mountjoy one-half of the ancient principality of Fermanagh, had no patent passed to him, Chichester refusing to grant it till his country was surveyed and planted, that is, colonized by strangers, to whom the native sept should give way. "A rapid-marching, adventurous man, endowed with wisdom and beauty of person,"† was this Cuconnaught; and he could not brook to see a recreant like his kinsman lording it over that fair land of lakes, fishful rivers, and blue streams—the Lough-Leine‡ of Ulster; and brooding thus over the injustice that had been done him, he could not dissemble his indignation, but often, in conversation with Tyrconnel, declared he would rather go to Spain and take military service there, than fret out his soul at home, where he was little better than a beggar. Another man of mark, who sympathized with this project, was James MacMahon, kinsman to Hugh of that name, who was hung,

* He was inaugurated chief of Fermanagh, at Lisnaskea, on the death of his gallant brother, Hugh, killed in an encounter with Saintleger, near Cork, 1600. His kinsman, Conor, however, who had eight horses killed under him *while fighting against Tyrone*, had a grant of the whole territory passed to him by the queen, 1601; to hold to him by the service of two knights' fee, an annual rent of £120 per annum, and a *caste of hawks* on the feast of St. John the Baptist. He was obliged to answer all hostings with twenty horse and eighty foot, *i. e.*, thirty bombards called "good shots," and the rest kernes, with forty days' provisions. In April, 1610, he had a pension of £250 per annum from the crown, when he surrendered three baronies to the king for the benefit of the plantation, retaining only one barony. The entire of Fermanagh had been granted to Cuconnaught, 28th Eliz.; but although *pardoned* in 1603, like the other Irish lords, he was left dependent on his kinsman, who had turned traitor to O'Neill. The agnomen signifies "the hound of Connaught."

† Four Masters.

‡ The Gaelic name of Killarney.

at his own door in Monaghan, by the deputy* Fitzwilliams, 1590, because he had presumed to lift his rents according to the Irish usage; while the said deputy's corruptions, and the cold-blooded murders he committed on the survivors of the ill-fated Armada, deserved the highest gibbet in Ireland. Sir John Davys tells us that these murmurings of discontent reached the ears of Chichester, who pretended to believe the northern nobles were sorely distressed at the miscarriage of the Gunpowder Plot, and that, consequently, it behoved him to be more vigilant in forestalling something of the same sort in Ireland. In fact, he set his mind on ferreting out charges on which he might frame an indictment of treason; and so lost to every honorable sentiment was he, that he did not shrink from invading the privacy of domestic life, and suborning women to criminate their husbands. Even the countess of Tyrone had to encounter this despicable espionage; and the person selected to tempt her to reveal her husband's secrets, was sir Toby Caulfield, as we learn from the lord deputy, who states the matter thus in a letter addressed to Cecil, February 18th, 1606:—

* He was re-appointed lord deputy, 1588, and distinguished himself by accepting bribes and killing in cold blood the survivors of the Spanish Armada, who were cast on the north-western coast of Ireland. "This deputy," says Baker, Chronicle, f. 378, "caused Hugh Roe MacMahon to be tried by a jury of common soldiers, and then to be hanged up at his own door in Monaghan, because he levied his rents in Farney by the strong hand." MacMahon's country was then parcelled out among English adventurers, sir Henry Bagnal, captain Hensflower, and others, who dealt so cruelly with the natives, that they shunned as much as they could to admit any sheriffs or any English among them.—Moryson's Ireland. Fitzwilliams, remarks Cox, Hib. Angl. v. i. p. 397, on asking some rewards for services during his former deputyship, was answered that "the government of Ireland was a preferment, and not a service; and he ever after endeavored to make his profit of that office."

"The deputy directed sir T. Caulfield to sound the countess of Tyrone, who may reveal her husband's secrets. He knows it to be an uncivil thing to feed the humors of a woman to learn the secrets of her husband; but his zeal for the king's service will be an excuse. Caulfield tempted her by offers to give secret notice if she knew of any practices the earl had. She replied she knew of nothing, but she would not for all the world be known to accuse him of anything that would endanger his life. Caulfield then assured her she never would be discovered; and, having sworn her, examined her as to other *ideas* and *suspicions* of the earl's intentions and actions."

Here we find that Tyrone's wife was not above suspicion, and that Caulfield was mean enough to ask her to sacrifice her husband, with whom she had no reason to be discontented. Failing with her, he directed his investigations to another quarter, one Bartholomew Owen, a priest, to whom he had rendered some service, and who in return, was anxious about his conversion.

"Caulfield," continues the deputy, "asked him [Owen] what would have happened had the Gunpowder Plot succeeded, and the English force fallen in Ireland. Owen replied that the lord deputy and council, and all commanders and soldiers, would have been used honorably, and sent away without violence. 'Well,' said Caulfield, 'suppose we had gone, then would your misery begin; for the earl of Tyrone would have sought to be king, and divers of his own rank would have withstood him, and thus you would have saved us a labor in killing one another.' 'No,' said he, 'the earl would have asked no more but his rightful inheritance, which his ancestors enjoyed from the Boyne to the

Fynn at Lough Foyle, with his uriaghts, and that every other lord should have governed his own country according to their ancient customs; that a council of state should have been established of all the earls and lords of the countries, and divers of the barons of the pale, and they should have had sovereign power by a general consent to govern all, to hold correspondence with foreign princes, and to decide all controversies that might arise between the lords of the countries.' Hearing this, Caulfield asked: 'What of the earl of Tyrone?' But Owen said he had nothing with which to charge him. 'But, for God's sake,' rejoined the zealous inquirer, who thought he was about to hear the names of a dozen conspirators, 'tell me who were the plotters of this commonwealth?' But, to his vexation, Owen smiled, and said it was nothing but his own imagination."

A poor discovery this! But Caulfield, who did not like to appear in the character of a bad sportsman who bags no game, thought it worth forwarding to Chichester, who sent it to Salisbury.* The latter, who was famous for getting up sham conspiracies, then cast about for a more efficient tool; and he soon found one far better fitted to his hand, though more fastidious about subscribing his name, than was bashful sir Toby.†

In the autumn of the same year, the deputy and sir John Davys made "a visitation" to Ulster, to hold

* It is dated "Dublin Castle, Feb. 18, 1606," and the original is in the S. P. O.

† Sir Toby Caulfield served at the siege of Kinsale, and in the north, under Mountjoy, 1602. In 1610 he got a grant of lands in Tyrone, Armagh, Derry, Antrim, Louth, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Donegal. He died 1627, when all his vast acquisitions went to his nephew, from whom the earls of Charlemont descend.

sessions of jail delivery, and dispense justice in Monaghan, Fermanagh, and elsewhere; and also to ascertain how the earls comported themselves under the vexatious restraints to which they were constantly subjected. During this visitation, sir John, who had an eye to the beautiful and bountiful in nature, made copious notes of the scenery through which he passed, enraptured as he was with the boundless resources of the soil, and the proximity of the Ulster shores to those of Scotland and England. His path lay by fishful rivers and primeval forests, where stroke of British axe was never heard; and never did he see soil better suited for hemp to make cordage for English ships, or so abounding with strong oak with which to build them. It was, in the attorney-general's estimation, a land of milk and honey, like that given to the Israelites—a land which the modern Solomon might well bestow on the children of promise, who had followed him into England with the hope of bettering their fortunes. But sir John's heart was grieved notwithstanding, for the entire region swarmed with a race which he regarded as Philistines, who must, sooner or later, be swept off the face of that fair country. That, however, never could come to pass till "the barbarous lords" who claimed estates in these lands were disposed of before their vassals. The pious attorney-general, therefore, thought it his duty to keep a vigilant eye on Tyrone, Tyrconnel, Maguire, and others, and, if possible, to induce some reckless swearer to charge them with treasonable practices. The opportune moment had now come, for the deputy was on the spot, and that personage's presence was guarantee for the safety of informer and perjurer. There were also two most reverend fathers on this visitation—Miler of Cashel, and Jones, archbishop of Dublin, and chancellor—who were ready

to shelter the miscreant that might be disposed to renounce his faith with whatever sense of honor he had left. A strange spectacle was that which then pretented itself to the men of Ulster; and we can easily conceive with what astonishment they listened to sir John expatiating on *bail*, *mainprise*, *fieri facias*, and other technicalities, of which they understood as little as they did of his wife's recreations in astrology.* Indeed the "Informations" still existing enable us to realise a vivid picture of sir Arthur Chichester, sir John Davys, and their colleagues, attended by their sheriffs, undersheriffs, and men-at-arms, seated in their canvas courthouse, under the shadow of the round tower of Devenish, gravely listening to the lying disclosures of some frontless ruffian, while the notary committed them to paper, to aid the inventive faculty of lord Salisbury. Neither should it be forgotten, that wherever this "visitation" made its appearance, the people fled with their goods and provisions, for the deputy and Davys seized all they could lay hands on, for their own and retinues' maintenance. But sir A. Chichester had heard that Maguire and Tyrconnel meditated quitting Ireland, and this surely was a case demanding strict investigation—one on which the revelations of Nial Garve O'Donel could throw strong light. Nial, therefore, being duly sworn, although Mr. Attorney placed little reliance on his regard for truth, deposed thus :—

"Being demanded what he knew, or had heard, of the purpose of the earl of Tyrconnel and Cuconnaught Maguire, to depart suddenly in some ship out of this kingdom—

"Saith that—On Sunday last, Hugh Boy O'Donel,

* She was daughter of lord Audley, and wrote a book of prophecies.

his brother, told him that Marie ni-Guire reported unto him that the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, the said Cuconnaught, and captain Tirrel,* with others, had concluded to seize upon the king's forts and garrisons, viz., the earl of Tyrone to execute it upon Charlemount and Mountjoy; Tyrconnel upon Derry, Lifford, and Balashannon; Cuconnaught Maguire upon Devenish, and to cut off the horsemen lying upon the country, being of the garrison of Balashannon; and Tirrell upon some fort or garrison near him, which he knows not particularly. And that it was said, as she reported, they had good assistance in the pale, and all the rest of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster; and having some intelligence or suspicion that this, their plot, was discovered to the deputy, they attempted to get shipping, and to embark themselves for Spain. And for that purpose they made their repair unto the isles of Arran, and there failing of a convenient passage, they returned and came to the deputy's camp. The cause of the said Marie's knowledge was by reason of their familiarity and abiding at Enyskillen, in company of the wife and sisters of the said Cuconnaught Maguire, for the space of eight or nine weeks; and, out of her well-wishing to the said Hugh Boy O'Donel, she sent purposely for him, whereby she might acquaint him therewith, for prevention of the danger; and thereupon he took her down with him to Glanfynne, and soon after all the country began to fly with their goods, the day before the deputy's coming to Devenish, in Fermanagh, and that then again they returned and settled themselves upon Cuconnaught's coming again, which was very joyous unto them.

"He saith further, that one of the earl of Tyrconnel's

* A brave Leinster officer, who served under Tyrone. See Mitchel's Hugh O'Neill.

men, who, as it should seem, was acquainted with his secrets, told Caffar Oge O'Donel, about fourteen days since, that the deputy, at his coming into the north, would lay hands on the earl of Tyrconnel, or sir Nial, the examinate, and did advise him to be upon his keeping.

"He saith, further, that O'Cahan and his wife, daughter of the earl of Tyrone, told him, about Christmas last, that the earl of Tyrone, being determined to put away his countess, and for that purpose having gotten together all the priests of the country, the countess told him plainly that, if he desisted not from such courses against her, she would discover him, so far as to enforce him again to rebellion, or to lose his head; whereupon the earl dismissed his priests, and left his purposes. He saith, further, that one Flarie O'Mulconer,* of Connaught, a Jesuit, with the king of Spain, and agent to Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and others of their faction, upon recommendations from them, doth prefer their motions and desires to the king, and brings such as they send thither into his favor and service, being very gracious with the king.

"That one Robert McArthur,† a Jesuit, is now in England, in the habit of a captain, and doth from hence continually advertise the earls of all occurrences. This man was, some three years since, sent into Spain from the earl of Tyrone, and now carries some other name, which he knows not.

"He saith, further, that it is a common opinion among them in all the north, that sir Randall McDonnell‡ is a party with them in all plots and devices, and

* Florence Conry was not a Jesuit, as Nial well knew.

† He was a learned *Franciscan*, of Louvain. See O'Reilly's Irish Writers.

‡ Of the noble house of Antrim.

that he had given out, that he cares not for sir Arthur Chichester more than for an ordinary person, knowing the king will hear him and further his desires, and if he should not, he would show him another trick.

"Lastly, he saith, that Henrie McShane O'Neill told the earl of Tyrconnel, that he saw Robert McArthur at London in captain's apparel, keeping company with certain other captains of Irish nation."*†

Another "Examinate," if possible, less truthful than Nial, next appears before this august tribunal, in the person of one Teig O'Corcoran, foster-brother to Maguire, and formerly in the household of Miler Magrath, who promoted him to deacon's orders. Repenting, or pretending to repent, his apostasy, this fellow had gone to bishop Brady,‡ then living in Multifernan, to be reconciled to the Church, and afterwards attached himself to Maguire as amanuensis for his English correspondence. O'Corcoran, therefore, was an important witness about Maguire's attempt to cross the seas; and what made his testimony more valuable, was that he had gone back, like a dog to the bone, and reconciled himself to Miler Magrath. Teig, therefore, being sworn, deposed:

"That he had received orders of deacon from the archbishop of Cashel, and that lately he went to Multifernan to the supposed bishop Bradie,§ by whom he

* S. P. O. Ireland, 1606.

† Sir A. Chichester wrote to Salisbury, Sept., 1606, thus: "Nial was an *opposite* to the earl of Tyrconnel, yet he informs no more than he heard."

‡ For the cruelties inflicted by Chichester on this aged prelate, see "Noctes Lovanienses," in Duffy's Hib. Mag.

§ This venerable prelate was a Franciscan, and died after a long life of suffering, 1607. See memoir of him in the "Noctes Lovanienses," Duffy's Hib. Mag. p. 130.

confesseth he was reconciled, and from him received absolution. He also confesseth that now of late he hath attended Cuconnaught Maguire, and accompanied him to Balashanon and Donegal; that they went to the island of Cladie, and on their way met with the earl of Tyrconnel, and returned with him to Donegal. Being demanded whether they were at Arran, confessed they were, and the earl also in their company, and that the cause of Maguire's going thither was only to buy wines.

"Being demanded whether he did write any letter from Cuconnaught to Brian his brother, he saith he did not; but being urged whether he had written any letters lately for him, confessed he had written two; one to Shane M'Hugh, for five garrans to be sent after him to Balashanon; the other to a priest, Aghy M'Trener; and being demanded what were the contents of that letter, said it contained thus much in effect: I have delivered you a secret, and I do allow you after seven or eight days to impart the same to my brother Brian."

In a second examination, taken same day, Corcoran supplements sundry shortcomings, thus:—

"First he saith that his former confession made is true, and that Cuconnaught Maguire took him with him towards the pale about the 16th of July; and as they travelled thus, met with the earl of Tyrconnel at Cavan, where the earl and Maguire rested that night, and the next day Maguire sent him (the examinate) to Multifernan, to Brady, the popish bishop, for the causes alleged in his former examination, which was to be reconciled; for until then Maguire would not trust him. And before his departure, the earl and Maguire rode together without man, boy, or horseboy, to sir Brian

M'Mahon's house,* and such people as they had went to O'Reilie's, and the examinate to Multifernan, and having despatched his business, he returned and found the earl and Maguire together at Enniskillen, where they continued two nights, and he heard the earl say at their departing: 'Well, Maguire, if there be any room in any ship in our ports, I will send you word thereof;' and so the earl went away. And about the 26th of July a boy came from the earl, with whom this examinate questioned what news he brought, and whether he had any letters, who said he had none, but he would speak with Maguire from the earl; and soon after Maguire had conferred with him, he, the said Maguire, told the examinate that he must go down with him to Donegal, and so departed from Enniskillen upon the 28th July, taking with him a suit of apparel, half a dozen shirts, and three boys, without other attendents, and had only £3 in money; and when he came to Donegal, they heard the earl was gone to Cladie, a harbor in the isles of Arran, so they left their horses and hired a churl to carry their necessaries, and travelled thitherwards; and at Cladie they met the earl coming from the ship, which, as he heard, belonged to one Hamilton, and the earl told Maguire that he could get no wine there, and so they went to the house of captain Paul there, where they rested one night, and from thence they came to M'Swyne O'Bane's, sheriff of Tyrconnel, and he lent them horses to bring them to Donegal (for the earl was likewise on foot); and the earl had with him two pages, O'Boyle, and some twenty persons.

"He saith that he is assured that Maguire would have been gone to Spain, or the Low Countries, if he could have gotten shipping, for so he told this examinate,

* Farney, co. Monaghan.

alleging no other causes but his poverty, and that his country was divided betwixt him and Connor Roe Maguire, which did properly belong to himself, and that he had neither goods nor people, and that he would take but the examinate and one boy with him, and that he would serve for his living abroad; but he knoweth not whether the earl would have gone, but sure he is, he promised to provide a ship for Maguire.

"He saith further, that he made his will before his going, and left it either with Aghie M'Trener, or his brother, Brian Maguire, both of which are acquainted with the contents thereof, as he thinks; but he knows no more than is in his former confession, touching his writing to the priest not to reveal what he had written or told him for a certain space, which he now takes to be a quarter of a year."*

This attempt to extort criminatory evidence was bad enough, but worse was to follow; for the lord deputy did not think it unworthy his position to place Maguire under temporary arrest, to elicit from him what he knew of Tyrconnel's pretended treasonable practices. Maguire answered that he knew none; and then Chichester gave him to understand that he would never rest till he forced him to confess, that is, perjure himself, by accusing an innocent and persecuted nobleman. Official insolence could go no farther; and we may imagine how the chief of Fermanagh must have felt the indignity put upon him. As for Tyrconnel, he was subjected to the same outrages as Tyrone; his domestic privacy was hourly violated; and his people plundered by sheriffs, under-sheriffs, officers, and soldiers of the garrisons of Ballyshannon, Lifford, and Donegal. Nay, felons cast

* Lord deputy Chichester to earl of Salisbury, Sept. 12, 1606.

for death in the jails of Trim and Athlone, were tempted with offers of life and liberty, provided they accused him of treasonable *intentions*. Nevertheless, none of them would buy remorse at such a price; and we may therefore conclude, that even they possessed more true nobility, if virtue be one of its constituents, than did either Chichester or his attorney-general. With such informations the deputy returned to Dublin; and it is superfluous to remark, that neither he nor Salisbury, to whom they were forwarded, gave themselves any trouble about the morality of the *swearers*, provided the depositions tended to involve the objects of their hatred. Withal, the man who was to act a leading part in the catastrophe now gathering over the Ulster earls and gentlemen, had not yet come; and Chichester and sir John Davys wrote to him to postpone his advent no longer, since they needed his temporal and spiritual assistance to carry out their projects.

The writer had great difficulty in discovering why bishop Montgomery did not appear on the Irish shores till two years after his promotion to the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, particularly as the king had assigned to him the reduction of Ulster to *Christianity*. In the long interval, was the prelate poring over St. Bernard's *De Consideratione*, which lays down such valuable rules for episcopal guidance,—avoidance of secular pursuits, avarice,* self-aggrandizement, and the like, which were not found in the great model bishop Augustin, who never carried a key† or a ring on

* "Nihil turpius episcopo quam incumbere substantiolæ, morderi suspicionibus, quotidianas expensas reciprocare scrutinio, de pretio escarum habere discussionem," &c.—S. Bernard to Pope Eugene, c. 6.

† "Nunquam clavem, nunquam annulum in manu habebat."—Possid. in Vita.

finger? By no means. He was less ascetically employed, for he had recently taken to himself a wife, whose safety might then have been imperilled among the hostile *heathens* of Ulster. At last he arrived early in the spring of 1607, not with brief of Paul V.,* then reigning, but with the patent of James, who was so zealous for diffusing Gospel light, and ridding society of such abominations as tobacco and reputed witches. With what formalities Montgomery took possession of his sees, all three united for *his* benefit, has not been recorded; but, surely, the Ulster Catholics must have thought it strange when they beheld this prelate and his wife—O shade of Columba!—inspecting the old abbey church of Derry, the cathedral of Clogher, and that of Raphoe, where Macartain and Eunan lived and died, poor and in single blessedness!

The bishop, however, had to encounter difficulties from a quarter where he least expected them; for he tells us that the very land belonging to the bishopric, within the island, the cathedral and parochial churches, and the bishop's house in Derry, had passed to sir R. Bingley, in fee-farm, and from him to sir H. Docwra, and from him to sir George Pawlett; and that he himself was driven to a long suit to recover same. Indeed, the church which sir Henry Docwra built at the expense of the city was also challenged, and withheld by Pawlett, the vice-provost, as sold to him. Thus was Montgomery crossed and thwarted, at the outset of his career, by *false brethren*. But he had compensation from another source; for he had heard that Donald Ballagh O'Cahan was at variance with the earl of Tyrone,

* Touching ecclesiastical appointments by the king, sir John Davys says: "The crown is restored to the patronage of ecclesiastical promotions, which heretofore were *usurped* by the pope, and utterly neglected by the state here."—Tracts, pp. 268–9.

and he, therefore, espoused the quarrel of this man, and advised him to refuse tribute to his liege lord. It likewise occurred to him that O'Cahan possessed great knowledge about the ancient church lands, and he thereon invited him to come and supply the necessary information. O'Cahan consented, and told his lordship he could make disclosures, but that he was afraid of Tyrone. "Nay," said the bishop, "I will not trust you; for I know that one *bottle of Usquebaugh** will draw you from me to the earl." Whereupon O'Cahan took a book, and placing it on his head, swore to reveal all he knew of the church lands, which, according to him, had been seized by Tyrone, provided the bishop promised to stand his friend against the earl. Now, a serious difficulty was raised by O'Cahan, who, not pleased with his wife, Tyrone's daughter, had some doubts about dismissing her, for reasons best known to himself; but the bishop overcame his scruples, and counselled him to turn her out of doors,† and send her home to her father in Dungannon. This being done, Montgomery took O'Cahan with him to Dublin, to lay his complaints before the privy council there, and as they rode through Dungannon, Tyrone's son, Hugh, came out, with sixteen horsemen, to salute his lordship and escort him part of the way, and then returned home. The bishop feared that he had come to take O'Cahan from him, and insinuates that he meant to do so, if he had not, with the precaution of a true missionary of the Gospel, brought with him a superior force of horse and foot. On arriving in Dublin, O'Cahan's confession was

* Carleton's Thankful Remembrance.

‡ O'Cahan had precedent for this in one of his ancestors, who repudiated his wife, but was compelled to take her back by archbishop Colton, in the fourteenth century. See Colton's Visitation, edited by Dr. Reeves.

taken by the privy council, whereon process was issued to Tyrone to appear on a certain day before sir Arthur Chichester, in the Castle. The bishop and his client then returned to the north; and meeting with Tyrone at Dungannon, the latter said to him; "My lord, you have two or three bishoprics, and yet you are not content with them, but seek the lands of my earldom." "My lord," replied the bishop, "your earldom is swollen so big with the lands of the *church*, that it will burst if it be not vented."*

Having thus inaugurated his mission in Derry, Montgomery turned his attention to financial matters in his diocese of Raphoe, where he sent bailiffs to levy out of every cow and plough-horse fourpence; as much out of every colt and calf, to be paid twice a year; and half a crown a quarter of every shoemaker, carpenter, smith, and weaver in the whole country; and eightpence a year for every married couple—a trifling wage, indeed, for the blessing of Gospel light which he had brought into that benighted region!

Touching O'Cahan's country, the bishop, who had an eye to its *commodities*, has left on record that "it was large, pleasant, and fruitful; twenty-four miles in length, between Lough Foyle and the Bann; and in breadth, from the sea-coast towards the lower parts of Tyrone, fourteen miles." As for O'Cahan himself, he adds, that he was able to assist the earl of Tyrone during his war with 1,200 foot and 300 horse, the ablest men that Ulster yielded; and, by the confession of gentlemen of the first plantation, had oftener put them to their defence than any enemy they had to do with, not suffering them to cut a bough to build a cabin without blows. Finally, in order to gain the good will of lord Salisbury

* Carleton's Thankful Remembrance.

and the Irish executive for this wretched O'Cahan, his lordship informs them, that, when Tyrone was driven to his fastness, Glenconkeine, O'Cahan sent him 100 horse and 300 foot, and yet made good his own country against the army lying round about him; that his defection did undo the earl, who, as long as he had his country sure behind him, cared little for anything the army could do to him. Montgomery's malevolence to the earl is transparent in this appeal to the prejudices of the executive, and is rendered more so by the insinuation that O'Cahan was hesitating whether he should hold his land from the crown or from Tyrone; and that it was of vital moment that the latter should not have any estate in O'Cahan's country, since he was of great power to offend or benefit the poor infant city of Derry, its new bishop and people, cast out, far from the heart and head, into the remotest part of Ireland, where life would be unsafe until the whole region was well settled with civil subjects. "If this," continues Montgomery, "be not brought to pass, we may say '*Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium.*'" But this episcopal document would not be perfect without flattering the king and sir Arthur Chichester. Montgomery, therefore, says of the former: "We are sure his majesty will have a tender respect for the first city he erected after his coming to the throne of England;" and of the latter: "The worthy gentleman who stands here at the helm will faithfully perform his duty, since he serves the king with a truly honest affection, respecting, merely, the good of this kingdom, where he means to settle, maintaining the honor of the state without respect of his private interests; and, hence, it will concern his majesty's honor to respect him accordingly."*

* All the foregoing details are taken from Montgomery's letter to Salisbury, July, 1607.—Irish Correspondence, S. P. O.

About the middle of April, 1607, Tyrone, in compliance with the process issued by the privy council, presented himself in Dublin Castle to answer the complaint of O'Cahan, who had come with Montgomery to maintain his claims. After the statements of both parties had been heard by Chichester and sir John Davys,* it appears that Tyrone lost temper at some allegation made by his adversary, and snatched from his hand a document he had drawn up to aid his memory. Tyrone's proofs of O'Cahan's tenancy and vassalage could not be denied, nor could Davys, with all his ingenuity, gainsay the decision made four years previously by lord deputy Mountjoy. A warm altercation, however, of a personal character, ensued between the litigants; and O'Cahan taunted the earl, by reminding him that his defection was the undoing of him; "for," said he, "after I yielded to the state, you were never able to maintain any open fight." "Let me now," continued the recreant, "have leave of this honorable council to keep my country, and I will never complain of you for taking one cow off my lands."† This, doubtless, was a pleasant incident for the attorney-general, who was anxious for O'Cahan's success; and he thereon stirred Tyrone's habitual phlegm, by adding, with all the gravity usually found in such conscientious functionaries: "I rest assured in my own conceit, that I shall live to see Ulster the best reformed province in this kingdom; and as for yourself, my lord, I hope to live to see you the best reformed subject in Ireland." To this sarcasm Tyrone replied that he hoped from his heart the attorney-general might never live to see the day when injustice should be done him by transferring his lands to the crown, and thence to the bishop,

* "A man completely learned," says A. Wood, Ath. Oxon., "but more a scholar than a lawyer."

† Montgomery's letter.

who was intent on converting the whole territory into his own pocket.* Finally, Chichester interposed and pacified the earl, by assuring him that the attorney-general was only jesting; and thus terminated the first trial between O'Cahan and Tyrone.

Montgomery, however, was not to be so easily baffled; and he, therefore, advised O'Cahan to employ some able hand to draw up a petition to the lord deputy and privy council, setting forth the grievances he had sustained in his relations with Tyrone, and praying that he might have a grant of his lands to himself immediately from the crown. This was accordingly done; and on the 2d of May he presented the following:—

"*The humble petition of Donald Ballagh O'Cahan, chief of his name.*

"To the right honorable the lord deputy and council,—Humbly craving that whereas he and his ancestors, for the space of these thousand years and upwards, have been possessed of a country called O'Cahan's country, lying betwixt the rivers of the Ban and Loughfoile, within the province of Ulster, without paying of rent, or other acknowledgment thereof to O'Neale, saving that his ancestors were wont to aid O'Neale twice a year, if he had need, with risings of 100 horse and 300 foot, of which O'Cahan had of him yearly, upon such service, O'Neale's whole suit† of apparel and horse that he rode

* These particulars are mentioned by sir John Davys, in a letter to Salisbury, dated January, 1607.

† O'Cahan, as O'Neill's *uriaght*, and inaugurator along with O'Hagan, had for his perquisite, on day of installation, the elected chief's charger and war-dress. O'Mulconry, hereditary marshal of the O'Conor, states that, in 1315, he got the king's horse and armor after the ceremony, and then rode after the *ard-righ*. The same perquisites were given the inaugurators of the ancient dukes of

upon, and 100 cows in winter; and saving also unto the king the yearly rent of twenty-one cows in the name of cios-righ, that is, the *king's rent*, whereof twenty to O'Neale, as the king's rent-cess, to the king's use in the name of cios-righ, and one to the collector, to be delivered in the borders of O'Cahan's country bounding upon Tyrone, of which collectors one yet liveth that received the said cess in the name of cios-righ. Which acknowledgment of rent unto the king continued without any alteration, notwithstanding Con Baccagh's patent from king Henry VIII., until towards the end of the latter wars, when your honor's said suppliant came in three-quarters of a year or more before the now earl of Tyrone submitted himself, under the protection of our late sovereign of happy memory, queen Elizabeth, unto sir Henry Docwra, knight, upon consideration of a faithful promise made unto your suppliant by the said sir Henry Docwra, and by the then lord deputy, afterwards lord lieutenant of this realm, that your suppliant should have a patent, with all convenient speed, from her majesty, to hold his said country immediately from her majesty, her heirs and successors; and your suppliant had then presently her late majesty's gracious letters-patent granted unto him for the custodiam of his said country, to be held immediately from her majesty at the accustomed rent, with promise to have the absolute grant thereof afterwards at convenient leisure; by virtue of which custodiam he enjoyed his said country for the

Carinthia. We may also observe, that the cess which O'Cahan ingeniously misrepresented, was *not* paid to O'Neill as agent to the king of England, but to O'Neill himself; for when the latter visited his vassals, he and his suite were said to be in *cosherie, i.e.*, taking *cios*, or maintenance by taxation. A lease dated Dublin, 1613, stipulates that the lessee, archbishop Jones, should provide food and lodging for two boys, with horse-meat and stabling for three horses, whenever the landlord, sir R. Nugent, visited the metropolis.

space of one whole year next after his said coming in without paying or being craved payment of any rent or duty, his service to her majesty only excepted, till the said earl of Tyrone, upon his return out of England from his majesty, alleged unto your honor's said petitioner that his majesty had by patent given unto him all your said suppliant's country, and made him vassal to him and to his heirs for ever, and imposed presently upon your said suppliant 160 cows towards his charges, with the yearly rent afterwards of £200, which cows were then levied out of your suppliant's said country ; and for the yearly payment of the said rent, he hath taken into his hands that part of your suppliant's country called *Macharie*, lying between the mountains and the river of the Ban, being one great third part of the whole country, with the fishing of the river of the Ban, which he desired then only for a time, threatening withal to eject your honor's said petitioner out of his country, and to dispose of the same to others, unless he would condescend to his demands ; for fear whereof your said suppliant, being unlearned and destitute of counsel in those remote parts, the lord lieutenant and sir Henry Docwra being then absent out of this kingdom, upon whose promise he did rely for the liberty of his country, wanting other means to make his wrongs and grievances known, and not knowing whether the said earl's allegations were true or not, and especially in respect that the said earl then assumed to keep your honor's said petitioner from answering at said Dublin assizes, sessions, or other places of justice, and that the residue of said country should be by him kept free from all cess and other burdens whatsoever, was forced to yield for the time unto those unreasonable impositions and exactions, until he might better understand the earl's grant from his majesty, and find means to make his grief and wrongs known unto the estate.

"But so it is, right honorable, that the said earl, over and besides all these former unlawful and unconscionable impositions and exactions, intendeth still to keep unto himself, from your honor's said petitioner, the fishing of the said Ban, preyeth yearly upon other parts of his country, draweth away from him his best and most able tenants, by taking away their cows, and after restoring them again upon promise they shall relinquish your honor's suppliant, and become tenants to himself, suffereth him to be exposed to cess, answering at court, and to be subject to many wrongs; and your honor's suppliant understandeth also that the said earl hath no such grant at all from his majesty of the said country, as he affirmed. That, therefore, it may please your honor to free your said suppliant and his whole country, he surrendering the same into his majesty's hands, from holding the same or any part thereof of the said earl, or paying any rent therefor unto him, making your said suppliant immediate tenant to his majesty, by new granting unto him his said country, according to his majesty's most gracious favor unto others of your suppliant's quality, seeing he came in before the said earl, and never disobeyed since, according to equity, the said lord lieutenant and sir Henry Docwra, their promise; paying for the same such rent, and doing such service to his majesty as your honor shall think meet. And for the better effecting hereof, it may likewise please your honor to appoint the king's attorney, this cause being for his majesty's special service and perpetual quietness of that country, to be of counsel with and for your honor's said petitioner in prosecution thereof, and that the said earl may, in the meantime, be, by your honor's warrant, commanded to surcease the levying of rents out of your honor's said suppliant's country, or molesting him or his tenants, until he make his title unto the said

country, if he have any, appear to your honor. And he shall ever pray, &c."*

On receipt of the petition, it was ordered that the king's attorney and solicitor should be of counsel for O'Cahan, and that the earl of Tyrone should answer the bill, upon which the plaintiff was to receive further resolution. Tyrone, therefore, on the 23d May, put in the following answer:

"The defendant, for answer, saith, that there is no such country called O'Cahan's country, other than that of late times, by corruption of speech, which the plaintiff would complain of, is called by the name of Irraght-I Chahan; and as for any title that may be made by the plaintiff to the said lands, the same is merely determinable by course of common law, where the defendant will be ready to answer any occasion that shall be brought by the plaintiff in such manner as every other subject of his condition is bound. And further, as to the request made by the plaintiff, that he, the plaintiff, may be permitted to surrender and accept a new estate from his majesty thereof, the defendant thereunto answereth and saith, that the plaintiff thereunto is not to be received, for that he, the plaintiff, hath no estate in the said lands that he may surrender, nor did he or any of his ancestors ever hold the said lands but as tenants at sufferance, servants, and followers to the defendant and his ancestors. And further, the defendant saith, that Conn O'Neill, in the bill mentioned, grandfather to the defendant, was seised in fee of the lands in the bill mentioned before his surrender to the late prince of famous memory, Henry the eighth, and received yearly

* S. P. O.

and had thereout as much rents, cutting, spending, and all other duties as of any other lands which he had in demesne within that province of Ulster and territory of Tyrone; and also that after the said Conn's surrender, and the regrant made to him by the letters-patent from the said king Henry the eighth, the said Conn was thereof lawfully seised, and during his life enjoyed the premises by virtue of the said letters-patent, and had and received thereout yearly rents, customs, duties, cuttings, spendings, risings out, and all other reservations as he had out of other his demesne lands in the said province of Ulster.

"And further, the defendant also saith, that upon the letters-patent made to the defendant by the late princess of famous memory, queen Elizabeth, the defendant was also of the premises lawfully seised and enjoyed, had and received out of the premises, such yearly rents, customs, duties, cuttings, spendings, risings out, and all other reservations as for other his demesne lands was paid in that province, and likewise hath continued the same ever since till the late general troubles of this kingdom, during which time the *custodiam* in the bill mentioned was granted, if any such was granted, which the defendant denieth; but if there was, the same was determined by the death of her late majesty, who was said to have *committed* the same; and if not, the same was *countermanded by the* patent made by his most gracious majesty that now is, who hath not only granted by patent to the defendant all such lands and hereditaments as he formerly had or enjoyed, but also of his free grace and favor hath passed his highness' royal promise and word to the defendant that he shall not be disturbed or molested for the possession of any lands or hereditaments which he enjoyed or took the profits of before his highness' most happy coming to the crown of this realm, which word

and promise the defendant knoweth will be kept and observed inviolable."

"And seeing the inheritance of the premises and the taking the profits thereof hath been by lawful means in the defendant and his ancestors, and that they have been always known and reputed the inheritors thereof, the defendant supposeth that it is fitter, and, therefore, accordingly, humbly prayeth, that if his letters-patent, upon any nice constructions of words, may breed any doubt or question, which the defendant hopeth they will not, that according to his majesty's most gracious meaning towards all other subjects' patents of any lands, and the several commissions and proclamations made in that behalf, there may be others letters-patent made of the premises to the defendant, and not the plaintiff, who hath no color of right or estate in the premises. All which matters the defendant is ready to aver and prove without that* he or his ancestors enjoyed the premises for the space of a thousand years, or at any time, but at the will and sufferance of the defendant and his ancestors, or that the lands in complaint are called O'Cahan's country other than of late times: without that there was any such promise made that the plaintiff should have a patent of the lands in complaint: without that the defendant did assume or promise to keep the plaintiff answering at Dublin assizes or other the places of justice, or that he undertook to save any part of the said country from cess, or made any other agreement with the plaintiff other than in consideration he was married to the defendant's daughter; and for the better inhabiting and settling of the country, he was contented the plain-

* This is the form of special traverse or denial of the statements in the plaintiff's bill.

tiff should, during the defendant's will and pleasure, enjoy two parts of the country upon certain conditions and reservations far otherwise than in the bill expressed: and without that the defendant made any preys upon the plaintiff other than some distress for his rent, or that he made or offered restitution thereof upon such terms as are in the bill surmised."

Three days after Tyrone had sent in his answer, he was at Mellifont with sir Garret Moore, and he thence despatched the following letter to the king:—

"May it please your most excellent majesty,—Whereas it pleased your highness, of your great bounty, to restore me by letters-patent to such lands as I, and others my ancestors, had and enjoyed in her late majesty and other your highness' predecessors' times, excepting sir Henrie Oge O Neill, knight, his country,* and sir Turlough Mac Henrie O Neill, knight, his country, passed unto them by letters-patents, as also certain other parcels of land reserved to your highness for occasions of service, by reason whereof my living and revenue is much lessened, yet was I well satisfied with the rest, such being your majesty's pleasure. But now, most gracious sovereign, there are so many that seek to deprive me of the greatest part of the residue which your majesty was pleased I should hold, as without your highness' special consideration of me I shall in the end have nothing to support my estate; for the lord bishop of the Derry, not contented with the great living your majesty has been pleased to bestow upon him, seeketh not only to have from me unto him a

* Much of it lay north of the Blackwater, in the barony of Dungannon and vicinity of Hy Tuirtc and Donaghmore. The whole tract was called "Henry Oge's land," from Henry Oge O'Neill.

great part of my lands, whereunto none of his predecessors ever made claim, but also setteth on others, as I am informed, to call into question that which never heretofore was doubted to be mine and my ancestors. Your majesty's counsel-at-law likewise, under pretence of your majesty's title, doth call the chief substance of the rest of my living in question, namely, these parcels, Killitragh,* Glanconkene, Slieveshiose, Slught-Art,† and Iraghticahan, for that they are not specially named in my letters-patent: whereas, in truth, there is not one parcel particularly named in them; and by like reason they may take from me all the lands I hold, except I may be protected and upholden herein by your majesty, upon whose grace and favor I must wholly depend. I most humbly, therefore, beseech your highness that you would be pleased to direct your gracious letters to the lord deputy here, thereby commanding him to make new letters-patent to me and my heirs, of and upon the parcels before recited by special name, according such estates and limitations, and to such persons as in your highness' former letters-patent are expressed, being such a favor as is appointed by your majesty to be extended to such of your subjects of this kingdom as should be suitors for the same, amongst whom I will, during my life, endeavor to deserve to be in the number of the most faithful, whereunto not only duty but also your majesty's great bounty hath ever obliged me. I must also be an humble suitor to your highness to

* Killetragh, *Hibernice* "Coill-Iochtra," *i.e.*, the Lower Wood of Glenconkeine. In 1609, the Irish Society felled oak there to the value of £50,000, for building Londonderry.

† A sept of the O'Neills, descended from the grandfather of Turlo Lynogh. They were located in the barony of Strabane, and owned Derg Castle, and the *crannog* of Louch Laegharie, near Lifford. It was a country ten miles long, most part bog and wood.—O'Donovan, Annals of the Four Masters, p. 2329.

direct the lord deputy and council, and other your highness' officers and ministers here, that I may be established and permitted to continue in such possession as I enjoyed before the last general troubles in her late majesty's time, until by any ordinary and due course of trial by common law the same shall be evicted, notwithstanding any office taken without my privity, upon advantages by the working of my adversaries. So, humbly craving pardon for my boldness, and praying God long to increase your majesty's happiness, I humbly take my leave.

"Mellifont, the 26th day of May, 1607.

"Your majesty's most humble and dutiful servant,

"TYRONE."

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT reply his majesty may have returned to Tyrone's letter we know not; but, in the meanwhile, the privy council in Dublin, after entertaining his answer to O'Cahan's petition, made the following report, namely: That in the thirty-fourth year of king Henry VIII., Con O'Neill, called Con Baccagh, or the lame, surrendered to the king all his lands and tenements, whereupon the king created him earl of Tyrone, and granted him all the lands and tenements which he then possessed, with remainder to Matthew his son, and his heirs male. Shane O'Neill having killed Matthew, and taken upon himself the title of "O'Neill," held possession of the lands till he himself was slain; and after his death, queen Elizabeth, by her letters-patent, granted to Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, all the lands and dominions in the territory or county of Tyrone, in the province of Ulster, in as ample a manner as Con O'Neill had formerly been seised of them, to hold to the earl for his life, with remainder to Hugh, baron of Dungannon, and the heirs male of his body.

Consequent upon this grant, there was, as customary, a commission or inquest to inquire into the boundaries and limits of the lands so granted, as well as the rents and services paid by any persons to Con Baccagh O'Neill for any lands or tenements held under him. The jury upon this inquisition found the metes and

boundaries of the country of Tyrone to be as follows, *i.e.*, beginning towards the north, the river Finn, proceeding thence as far as Lough Foyle, and from Lough Foyle, by the sea-shore, to the Bann, and so extending to the east of Lough Neagh ; within which limits they found that there existed the territory called O'Cahan's, Glenconkeine, and Killetragh, which they found were not lands of the O'Neill's in their demesne, or in the actual seisin of the O'Neill's, but held by tenants having estates in them equivalent to estates of freehold. The jury, moreover, could not determine what rents the tenants of said lands were accustomed to pay ; but they found generally that all the lands within the limits of Tyrone, except lands of the church, rendered bonnaght,* "rising out, cutting and spending," to Con O'Neill, except that some of the chiefs of the name only rendered bonnaght and rising out.

When the report had been read, sir John Davys spoke at considerable length on the submission and surrender of his client at the close of the war, and before the surrender of O'Neill, laying great stress on the promise made to O'Cahan of a grant of his lands, which he deserved in consideration of his good services to the crown. At the same time, however, after stating the case as between the parties, he perplexed it still more by raising a doubt whether O'Cahan's lands were not still vested in the crown, or whether they were comprised in any of the grants made to the earl of Tyrone. The deputy and council upon this delivered their opinion, that the right to O'Cahan's country still remained in the crown ; but, as an arrangement *ad interim*, they sanctioned an agreement which had been made between the earl and O'Cahan, namely, that the former should,

* Free quarters for armed retainers.

for the present remain in possession of O'Cahan's country, and O'Cahan himself of the remaining two-thirds, without any further claim upon one another.

The decision was far from satisfactory to either of the litigants; and as for Tyrone, he required no great legal acumen to foresee, that, his pardon and restoration in blood notwithstanding, it was the intention of the deputy and sir John Davys to revive the old act of attainder passed in Elizabeth's reign against him and his heirs. The result, however, was most gratifying to bishop Montgomery, who was delighted with an imbroglio which he perceived would sooner or later give him possession of the lands he coveted, and thus enable him to make a fortune—the grand object, as he himself tells us, of his coming to Ireland.

Meanwhile, Tyrone and O'Cahan, despite the finding of the lord deputy and privy council, had various suits in the courts of common law, nor could either be induced to desist till sir John Davys by directions of the deputy, suggested that they should repair to the royal presence, and submit their respective claims to the king, the modern Solomon, who would adjudicate on them, even as his prototype did in the case of disputed maternity. Tyrone made no objection, but told Davys he would be disposed to present himself to his majesty at Michaelmas, provided his impoverished earldom could furnish the expense of the journey. He then returned to Ulster, to encounter a renewal of those outrages and insults to which we have already alluded, and of which he has left such a minute account. As for Tyrconnel, he, too, had to bear similar grievances in his earldom, such, indeed, as no ordinary patience could endure, and which one in his position could not but feel acutely. His people were hourly outraged by sheriffs, undersheriffs, and other myrmidons of the law, who seized

their cattle, suborned informers and spies to accuse him of treasonable designs, and involve him in vexatious litigations before packed and hostile juries. The categorical account he himself has left us of these insupportable wrongs, precludes the necessity of dwelling longer on them here.

About this period, Chichester heard that his place of deputy was likely to be conferred upon somebody else, and he thereon applied to lord Northampton to have him appointed to the presidentship of Ulster, as the crown contemplated the creation of that office. "It may please your lordship," says he, "for charity begins at home, to let me put you in mind of my particular condition, since it hath pleased you to consider how mean a fortune I should have left, when this great place, the deputyship, should be transferred to another." And he then goes on to state how beneficial it would be to all Ireland, and to Ulster especially, if the presidentship was bestowed on him. Another suitor for the same post was the earl of Tyrone, who memorialed lord Salisbury to name him to it, but without effect, for the crown was still hesitating about making Ulster a presidency. But matter of greater moment engaged Tyrone's thoughts on his return home, namely, the settling his son Hugh, baron of Dungannon, who, it appears, was to be married to a daughter of the lord of Argyle,* better known in his own Highlands, and the north of Ireland, as M'Callam More. Great preparations were made for the event; but even in this case the course of love was

* Probably Archibald, seventh earl, who went to Spain, and there, entering the service of Philip III., became a Catholic. There is a very interesting paper in the Miscellany of the Maitland Society, on the marriages between the Scotch Gaels and those of Ulster. The mother of the celebrated Hugh Roe O'Donel was daughter of MacDonald, lord of the Isles.

not destined to run smooth, for the project was never realized.

In the midst of such occupations, legal trucemaking, affiancing, and writing unheeded protestations to Chichester touching the annoyances he had to endure, Tyrone or Tyrconnel never thought that there were, at that moment, in Dublin, designing heads actually plotting the ruin of them both. Above all, it never could have been imagined by the former, that, the day before he wrote to the king from Mellifont, one whom he often encountered on the battle-field was *then* employed by Chichester to play the *rôle* of fabricator after the most revolting fashion of that reckless calling. Least of all could he or Tyrconnel have suspected that one bearing an ancient Anglo-Norman title would have stooped to an act which many an Irish peasant thought foul scorn to perpetrate—nay, for the non-performance of which more than one of them preferred execution on the gallows. Yet such was the fact, and we will allow the deputy himself to furnish the details :—

"*To my lord the earl of Salisbury.*

"My Lord,—On Monday, the 18th of this instant, these enclosed were found at the door of the council-chamber, and being brought to sir William Usher, clerk of the council, to whom they were directed, he brake them open, and when he had perused the first line, he delivered them unto me. Soon after I imparted them to such of the board as were then with me ; and however I conceive of them, I am *advised to transmit them* by reason they concur in many parts with the discovery made unto your lordship by A. B., otherwise I should have thought of it as heretofore I have done of the like presented unto me, and have taken them rather for

impostures to deceive me, than discoveries to forewarn me. I send the original itself, and have taken a copy thereof; if it shall please your lordship to return it, it may be the hand will in time discover the author, albeit I think he hath counterfeited all he may. I will use all means to make the writer to discover himself, and to prevent the danger of this place, esteeming slightly the threatening of myself, for my life hath not wronged them, and my death can smally advantage or further their designs, if any they have, of which I see no great appearance nor probability to act it without foreign assistance. If A. B. were an advised or judicial man, it might be supposed he had plotted this to strengthen the discovery he hath made; and howsoever his lightness may clear that suspicion, yet can it not be but the writer thereof is very inwardly acquainted with that plot, or another as dangerous; the sooner he comes to effect what he hath promised, the better will it be in my opinion. I have not imparted what your lordship transmitted unto me by Strowd unto any man as yet. The times, too, now require that I shall make use of other men's watchfulness and judgments; therefore I intend to acquaint the treasurer, chief justice, sir Oliver Lambert, and sir Oliver St. John, with the contents of A. B.'s discovery; they are all very worthy gentlemen, wise in observation, and quiet in execution. For the present I can only observe an unusual privacy in some principal men near adjoining, who heretofore were wont to resort unto me, which I should not have noted had I not been forewarned.

"Besides which, the earl of Tyrone, being lately called hither upon the complaint of O'Cahan, hath carried himself very untemperately in private speeches, and unrespectively by action at the council-table, snatching a paper out of O'Cahan's hand, and renting it in our

presence, which, against my nature, and not without dislike of some of my associates, I suffered to pass with slight reproof, only to make him understand he did amiss, when severer punishments would better become the honor of the place and his chastisement; but understanding these consultations towards innovation; I will not cause them ultimately to declare themselves. Of this cause of O'Cahan's, your lordship shall hear more by the next, for his demands are worthy of consideration; and before we can well proceed therein, it is necessary we should have allowance from thence.

"This last term, one Howth, *alias* St. Lawrence, and one Art M'Rorie M'Mahon, were arraigned in the king's bench for plotting the betraying of this castle. The matter was first discovered unto me by Howth himself; and Art M'Rorie being apprehended and examined, after many denials, confessed at last that Howth had broken that matter with him, and said that he used the name of Christopher St. Lawrence unto him as a motive to induce him to the plot, which Howth absolutely denied, but charged him with the like, by naming his associates in the north, and, among others, one Shane M'Phyllip Oreilly, who, as I hear, is now upon his keeping. This being by themselves delivered in the court, that could not but come to his hearing, which belike hath made him fearful; but I will send for him, and I am persuaded he will come unto me, or shall soon after lose his head. They are both condemned, but stayed from execution in hope by them to discover more; and as yet we cannot, otherwise than by conjecture, learn who was the first breaker of the matter to the other.

"We have a report by sundry merchants, lately arrived from Spain, that the Hollanders have given a great blow to the Spanish fleet in the Straits, and attend upon the coast of Spain with some seconds come unto them to

do them further annoyance. I have spoken with the parties themselves, who had speech with some of the Hollanders at sea, who assure it for truth; if it be I know your lordship hath heard thereof otherwise, I would write it more particularly. They can tell me of no embargo of our ships in Spain, which makes me think the advertisement which I transmitted by Strowd, coming from the president of Munster to his servant, was grounded upon some false report, of which this country is full; but this last is not so welcome unto them. Thus, with remembrance of my duty, I humbly take leave.

"From his majesty's Castle of Dublin,
the 27th day of May, 1607.
"Your lordship's in all true and faithful service,

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

The anonymous document was sufficiently alarming, and the deputy, therefore, exhibited it to sir Oliver Lambert, sir Oliver St. John, and, of course, to sir John Davys, for his majesty's attorney could not be left ignorant of such a portentous revelation. The deputy's first effort was to ascertain who was the writer, for he, like many other mean individuals, set great value on anonymous letters. It never occurred to him that it might have been sir William Usher, or some other of his staff; but he was more disposed to attribute it to the individual, who, ashamed to give his real name, concealed it under the cipher A. B., and who then stood high in his good graces for having turned approver against his unfortunate dupes. Morever, A. B. represented an ancient house in Ireland; and the deputy was too sensitive on the subject of aristocratic birth, to suffer one of that order to tarnish his escutcheon by appearing under his true

style and designation as a *hopeful* informer. Indeed, he himself was loath to figure as such before the people of his own time, and, doubtless, had some scruple about bequeathing a dishonored name to posterity. Provided, however, they allowed him to wear the mask, and thus skulk from responsibility, he professed himself ready to do any work his employers might assign to him, be it writing anonymous slanders, or fabricating charges against the best in the land. There is not, it must be admitted, evidence to prove that A. B. wrote the anonymous letter, but there can be no doubt that he was a man of inventive genius, wily, pliant, and deaf to the warnings of conscience.

We will now submit this famous document to our readers :—

To sir William Usher, clerk of the council, &c., &c.

"Sir,—My zeal to my country, lately on fire, and my love to you for loving the same, will show you by this relation, though I am far severed from you in religion, how near I come home to you in honesty. Not long since I was called into the company of some Catholic gentlemen, where, after the strictest conditions of secrecy were ministered unto me that have been used, and the general dislike of unchristian proceedings against them laid open in their proper colors before me, these their purposes, that had induced, as it seemed, so many former disputes, were delivered unto me ; *viis et modis*, to murder or poison the lord deputy, whose authority, wisdom, and valor, stand only in the way of their first attempts ; Drogheda thought a place apt and secure to act the same, whither they hear he intends shortly to remove. With his lordship, or before the first opportunity will be taken to cut off sir Oliver Lambert,

whom, for his judgment in the wars, his sudden resolution and undertaking spirit, they will not suffer to live: he is weakly attended, therefore easily, and when they list, despatched. These two lights thus put out, they neither fear nor value any opposite in the kingdom: the rest either of office in state, or state in substance, they will pick them up, one after another, and serve their turns with them. The small dispersed garrisons must either, through hunger, submit themselves to their mercy, or be penned up as sheep to the shambles. They hold the castle of Dublin for their own, neither manned nor victualled, and at the instance of their other designs, readily surprised. The towns are for them, the country with them; the great ones abroad, and in the north, prepared to answer the first alarm. Those that are powerful in the west are assured by their agents as soon as the state is in disorder. The Catholic king hath lately promised, and the Jesuits from the pope warranted, men and means to second the first stirs, and royally to protect all their actions. Yet the wise politics of this society, whose wits hath raised this spirit in the hearts of the discontented, cast their reckoning another way, and will reserve the Spanish succors for the last gasp, feeding them still with their dependency and expectation from them. And as soon as the state is dissolved, the king's sword in their hands, they will elect a governor, chancellor, and council out of the grand council of the kingdom; despatch their humble and submissive letters to his majesty, trusting more to his unwillingness to be embarked in such a war, and to his facility to pardon, and grant their own conditions of peace, of government with tolerance in religion, as France and the Low Countries most happily enjoy, than to the Catholic king's subjection. For all this, if his majesty listen not to their motions, then, they presume, the many days spent in debate in England,

the long preparing force and materials fit for such an enterprise, will give them time enough to breathe, to fortify and furnish the maritime towns and coasts, and at leisure call to their aid the Spanish forces from all parts, into whose arms at last they resolve headlongly to cast themselves. After I heard this and a great deal more, I interposed some doubts, then readily answered. I consented to further those projects; and, through the lateness of the night, we parted. From which time till I resolved by you to give this *caveat*, mine eyelids never closed, my heart was afire, my soul suffered a thousand thousand torments; yet I could not, nor cannot persuade my conscience in honesty to betray my friends, or spill their bloods, when this timely warning may prevent the mischief. Make use of it where use is fit to be made; pass it not slightly over as a wonder of nine days old. I will, from henceforth, use all my endeavors to dissuade all further practising, watch their counsels, and tell my near friends the state hath inkling hereof. The care the lord deputy took last to bar entrance, with weapon, into the castle, to strengthen the port with an increased guard and vigilanter watch, much dismayed the handlers of this business; so will the least preparation the lord deputy shall make to strengthen the guard of his person, the attendance at his sports, to provide in his absence for the castle of Dublin, and to victual the garrisons abroad, put them either to seek new counsels, or desist from the old, which, if they do not, though I reverence the Mass and Catholic religion equal with the devoutest of them, I will make the leaders of this dance know that I prefer my country's good before their busy and ambitious humors.

"P.S.—Your lordship may gather from the enclosed how necessary it is for us to victual our places of principal advantage, which makes me to continue my suit

that sir Robert Newcomen* may be despatched with means to do it."

The only comment we can offer on this production is, that it names no one, deals in generalities, and makes charges against which innocence itself might not be proof. The allusions to the Mass unmistakably pointed to the northern earls, who, like the rest of the Irish Catholics, had good reason to be discontented on that subject; and the affected sensitiveness of the writer, "who would not be evidence against any one," betrays cunning, malevolence, and cowardice, which are invariable characteristics of those who write anonymous letters, or encourage the authors of them.

But as to A. B., we are indebted to Salisbury and sir Arthur Chichester for his real name, which they ultimately published when mystery was no longer necessary. A. B., therefore, was sir Christopher St. Lawrence, twenty-second baron of Howth, concerning whose antecedents we deem it necessary to premise a few words, that the reader may be able to set due value on the "Informations" of such a *nobleman*. He served in Ulster under the unfortunate Essex; accompanied him in his rash flight to England; and, on arriving there, proposed to murder lord Grey de Wilton, who, it was thought, was likely to prejudice the queen's mind against her former favorite, if he got access to the royal presence before him. Essex, however, refused to sanction such a revolting offer;† and we hear no more of this volunteer

* In 1608 he had a grant from the king of the ruinous chapel of St. Laurence, near Ballyfermot, parcel of the estate of viscount Baltinglass, attainted.

† For a most interesting account of Essex's return and reception by Elizabeth, see the Hon. W. B. Devereux's Lives of the Earls of Essex. London: J. Murray.

assassin* till 1602 when he commanded a regiment of infantry under Mountjoy, at the battle of Carlingford. A year afterwards, when sir George Carey disbanded the army, Howth grew very discontented, thinking he had been badly treated by his employers, who gave him no entertainment, or, in other words, pension for his services. Poor, mean, regarding money as omnipotent, he was ready to do anything that might enable him to retrieve his desperate fortunes ; and he, therefore, with the mercenary spirit of a free lance, crossed over to the Low Countries, where he thought the influence of certain Irish ecclesiastics, his kinsmen, might be used to advance him. They, however, knowing their man, declined to interest themselves in his behalf ; and he then returned to England, renounced the faith of his forefathers, and skulked about Salisbury's ante-chambers till it was that personage's convenience to give him audience. He then began to make his *revelations*, and Salisbury, after taking them down, told him to hasten to Ireland, and repeat them to sir Arthur Chichester. He accordingly did so ; and after getting through the first act of the melodrama, in which he figured with MacRory and O'Reilly, was lodged in Dublin Castle, where, in several conferences with the deputy, he entitled himself to the wage of a vulgar informer, by swearing the following depositions, which we take verbatim from sir Arthur Chichester's report, addressed to lord Salisbury. Ah, to what baseness will not even a baron sometimes lower himself!

* Christopher St. Lawrence, one of the six friends who accompanied Essex on his visit to Nonsuch, met on the way lord Grey de Wilton, one of Essex's bitterest enemies, who passed Essex unsaluted ; and on the earl expressing his fear that he would do him some unkind office, St. Lawrence offered to kill him, and afterwards to kill Cecil in the queen's court.—Camd. An. v. iii. p. 796.

"*Brief Collections drawn from sundry discourses had with A. B., betwixt the 29th day of June and 25th of August*, 1607.

"1. First, he declares that there is a general revolt intended by many of the nobility and principal persons of this land, together with the cities and towns of greatest strength; and that they will shake off the yoke of the English government, as they term it, and adhere to the Spaniard.

"2. That they have made known their said intentions and purposes to the king of Spain, who hath entertained the same with good applause, and hath promised them aid and assistance of men, money, and munition, if they will declare themselves against the king by some notable action, whereby he may trust and give credit unto them.

"3. Whereupon the principal contrivers and plotters of this innovation, did advise and resolve to seize upon the Castle of Dublin, when the deputy and council were within, whom they would kill or otherwise dispose of at their pleasures; and thereupon the towns had promised to revolt, and the country to declare themselves against the king and his government.

"4. They concluded to attempt the surprise of the Castle in Easter term, anno 1606, and had proceeded therein, but for two causes:—First, A. B. thought it a matter full of danger, by reason of the strength of the place, the guard that attended it, and the persons that would be together; and told C. D.† that it was not to

* Delvin. According to Lodge, he was tenth baron of that name. He fought at Kinsale under Mountjoy; and in 1621 was created earl of Westmeath. His father died prisoner in *Dublin Castle*, to which he was committed on charge of having assisted Tyrone when he was marching to Kinsale.

be kept by them, albeit they should take it, unless the Spanish forces were in readiness to give them present assistance; for England and Scotland were so near neighbors, and so well able to give relief, and plenty of means to regain the same, that it were impossible for them to hold it until they could send and receive aid from Spain or the Low Countries. This he did to stay the proceedings; for howsoever he had hearkened unto them, he meant not to partake with them in the business.

"C. D., conceiving well hereof, imparted it to E. F.,* who allowed of the reasons, but said it came not from himself, but from A. B.

"The second cause of staying the proceeding in the surprise was, that C. D. would not assent that the deputy should be slain, for that he was his friend, and had done him many good offices; therefore he would rather withdraw himself from their association, yea, and reveal it, than to see his blood spilt by his means and procurement. This discourse was about Christmas, anno 1605.

"5. About August following, A. B. went into England, expecting to obtain some employment or pension from the king's majesty. If he failed therein, he then resolved to put himself into the service of the archduke, carrying with him a mind, howsoever he was otherwise discontented for want of means and employment according to his birth and desert, to reveal so dangerous a plot of conspiracy before it should bring forth the monster of his country's ruin and king's disturbance.

"He revealed it not at his first coming to the court, by reason, he thought, the venom had not spread

* Earl of Tyrconnel.

itself further than to discourse by means of priests, and some slight promises of assistance to hold them in faction; and was of opinion that, if he should have revealed it at that time, it would have been taken that he did it rather thereby to procure unto himself some entertainment or employment, than for the king's service or country's welfare. But when he came into the Low Countries, and perceived, upon discourse with Richard Stanihurst* and Christopher Cusake,† priests, the one his uncle, and the other his near kinsman, that the poison of this traitorous conspiracy had infected many of the king's subjects, as well on that side as on this, and understanding by them that the king of Spain had not only entertained their proffered service, but had, withal, assured the conspirators of aid and assistance, which should be in readiness when they declared themselves, he then thought it high time to discover what he knew or had heard, and thereupon he framed a colorable occasion for his repair into England, and, upon his coming thither, he opened the depth thereof to my lord of Salisbury, who was pleased to acquaint the king therewith.

"7. After which he returned to the Low Countries,

* Richard Stanihurst, uncle to archbishop Usher, studied at Oxford, and in Lincoln's and Furnival's Inns. In Flanders, after his wife's death, he took holy orders, and was made chaplain to the archduke Albert at Brussels. He wrote many works, and, among others, four books entitled "De rebus in Hibernia gestis," which was severely criticised by Geoffrey Keating. He was also author of a life of St. Patrick in Latin; but his most celebrated performance is the tract entitled "The Principles of the Catholic Religion," in which he exposes the sophistries of archbishop Usher's "Historical Explication." Father Stanihurst died at Brussels, 1618.

† He was a priest of the diocese of Meath, and founded, 1596, the Irish College of Douay for secular priests, and several other colleges in the Low Countries for the education of Irish missionaries. He died 1619.

where he met with one Flarie Omulconnor,* known by the name of father Florence, and is provincial of the Irish Franciscan friars, by whom he was assured that all things were concluded, and that himself was to go

* This distinguished Franciscan, for an account of whose works see Ware's Writers, was a native of Cloonahee, in MacDermott's country, and representative of the ancient historians and antiquarians of his name. Flathrie, or Florence, took the habit in the convent of Moyne, and then went to Spain to prosecute his studies. From that country he came to Ireland, by order of Clement VIII., to aid, by his counsels, the chiefs of the expedition sent by Philip III.; but, after the surrender of Kinsale, he returned to Spain with Hugh O'Donel, whom he attended in his last moments at Simancas. In 1606 he founded the Franciscan convent at Louvain; and in 1609, at the instance of Maffeo Barberini, afterwards Urban VIII., he was consecrated archbishop of Tuam. Conry labored hard in Spain and the Netherlands for his unfortunate countrymen, and died at Madrid, 1629, aged 69. A magnificent monument was erected to his memory, and the celebrated Almerus wrote the following epitaph, which alludes to the translation of the archbishop's remains to the convent of Louvain:

HIC . JACET . ET . FLORET . PRŒSUL . FLORENTIUS . ŒVIS .
DUM . PIETAS . VIRTUS . DOCTA . MINERVA . VIGET .
ORDINIS . ALTUS . HONOR . FIDEI . PATRIÆQUE . HONOS .
PONTIFICUM . MERITO . LAUDE . PERENNE . JUBAR .
FUNDE . PRECES . ANIMÆ . LECTOR . PIA . VOTA . MERENTI .
GRATIA . NAM . MAGNIS . DEBITA . MAGNA . VIRIS .
VIVUS . OPUS . FABRICÆ . FRATRES . DEVINXIT . AMORE .
PIGNUS . AMICILIÆ . MORTUUS . OSSA . DEDIT .

For further notices of this most learned Franciscan prelate, see Harold's Life of Wadding, and Rapin's Hist. De Jansenisme. Touching the latter subject, we may not omit an anecdote mentioned in Piot's Hist. de Louvain, of a red-haired Irish Franciscan, who, in a thesis with a Jesuit, was told jocosely that Judas was red-haired, *ergo* the Irish friar must have been related to him! To this the Franciscan replied, "*Quod Judas erat ruber est conjectura, sed quod erat e societate Jesu Scriptura.*" The vicissitudes of the convent in which Colgan, Fleming, O'Clery, and other great Irish Franciscans wrote, will be found in French's works. Dublin: J. Duffy.

into Ireland to ascertain the lords, cities and towns of the aid promised, and to conclude with them for the time.

"8. This Florence hath been employed in this business from the beginning by E. F., and is well favored by the king of Spain, and good credit given to his reports and advices. He told A. B. that the king of Spain would aid them with 10,000 foot and 200 horse at the first, and supply them as there should be occasion. These forces would be in such readiness that they should be in Ireland within twenty days after the peace betwixt the king, our master, and the king of Spain should be broken; and that Spinola, or some other great captain, should come with them A. B. advised them to land near Dublin, which he did, *as well to draw them within the danger of those seas as to bring them to our chiefest strength.* Florence told him that it was resolved that they should land at Gallowaye or Waterfoorde, or at both places at once, if their forces were answerable to their expectations.

"9. A. B. saith that the Spaniards hath fed E. F. with hope of great advancement and reward, and that father Florence had received, by direction from the king, five or six thousand pounds for his use, which should be made over unto him if he could find the means, by exchange or otherwise, which money lay ready at Bruxelle. He saith further, that the Spaniard doth so allure this nation, by kind entertainment and promises, that he is of opinion that they will absolutely quit the king, our master, and adhere unto him, if it be not timely prevented, by bridling them with strong garrisons and sure holds, for what cause he knows not, but they pretend religion, and that they are weary of the English government.

"10. He saith this is all true, and that he had the

first knowledge thereof from C. D., and soon after he conferred with E. F., who are the men he dealt withal on this side, and none other.

"11. He cannot, of himself, charge G. H.* with any particular matter, but is well assured by the speech he had with the former two, and others in the Low Countries, that he is as deep in the treason as any, so is J. K. † L. M.,‡ N. O.,§ P. Q.,‖ R. S.,¶ and sundry others in the kingdom, some of which have undertaken particular services when the time shall serve: as L. M. to betray the castle of Athlone, and to take the earl of Clanricard prisoner; J. K. to seize upon the earl of Ormond and the viscount Butler, and to direct those countries for the treasonable services. When he understood that the king had sent for G. H. to come into England, he said unto me that he conceived he would never go

* Tyrone.

† Mountgarret. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Hugh, earl of Tyrone. He subsequently was a member of the supreme council of the Confederates, and died 1651; and, although dead, was excepted by Cromwell from pardon for life or estate, by an act of parliament, passed 12th August, 1652.

‡ Sir Thomas Bourke.

§ Sir Theobald Bourke, of the house of Mayo, was called *na-Long* (of the ships), because born at sea. He commanded under Mountjoy at Kinsale, and was knighted after the defeat of the Spaniards. He represented the co. Mayo in the parliament of 1613, and was advanced to the title of viscount Bourke of Mayo, Feb., 1626. He died in 1629, and was buried in the ancestral tomb at Ballintobber.

‖ Sir Randal MacDonnell, of Dunluce, was, for some time, a confederate of Hugh, earl of Tyrone; but he changed sides, and fought against him, under sir Arthur Chichester, in 1620. The king created him earl of Antrim, in consideration of his good services to the crown; and in the year following pardoned him, after a true and humble confession, for receiving *Romish* priests in his castle of Dunluce. He married Alicia, daughter of Art-Mac-Baron, brother to Tyrone; and dying 1636, was buried in the Franciscan monastery of Bonamargy. His widow was eighty years of age in 1663.

¶ Cuconnaught Maguire.

thither; for albeit he could not directly charge him with anything, yet he understood him to be so deeply engaged in those treasonable practices, that he would never adventure himself within the compass of such danger.

"12. He saith that he had talked with E. F. sundry times since his coming over, and found him constant and firm in his first resolution; and that he had acquainted him with the coming over of a priest, who had brought unto him sundry despatches of great moment; and that he will bring the priest with him when he comes to fetch his lady, which shall be about the 5th or 6th of September next, and then he shall understand more in this matter. He hath requested him, by letters, to accompany his lady into his country.

"13. This is all he can say until he have spoken with him, and thinks he shall hardly make the matter more manifest until father Florence come over, when he will so contrive the matter, that he shall be taken with all his letters and papers about him. If this fall not out to his mind, he adviseth to have E. F. taken, and, being strictly charged with the particulars above mentioned, he thinks he will confess the whole plot. If he do not, other men's apprehensions must make it good to his face. But, said he, there is no great haste herein; for until father Florence come and return, they will not break out, neither would the Spanish forces be ready to come until towards Michaelmas, which shall be anno 1608. This is all that hath passed betwixt us since A. B.'s arrival, the 29th of June, unto this 25th of August, 1607."

Such were the depositions of this titled delator, made in an interval extending over two months, during which the distinguished personages whom he sought to

compromise were suffered to be at large, the deputy* never intimating to them that they were even suspected of the designs which Howth swore they were actually entertaining. Indeed, we may presume that Chichester set little value on the charges, knowing, as he did, the blasted character of the baron. Then, again, nothing was more improbable than the rupture of peace between England and Spain, since James had recently concluded a treaty with Philip III.,† and the latter was too much engaged with the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, and too crippled for money, to think of making Irish grievances a *casus belli* with the crown of England. Howth, therefore, was a mere fabricator—an instrument in the hands of Salisbury and Chichester, who were afraid and ashamed to proceed on his revelations, which were consigned to the secret portfolio, to be produced at a future moment. It is necessary that the reader should bear this in mind, for it is almost certain that neither Tyrone nor Tyrconnel ever heard of Howth's unscrupulous conduct. Nevertheless, they both had reason to suspect that Chichester was intent on their ruin; the more so, as they could get no redress for the countless vexations to which they were hourly subjected, and which they, over and over again, did not fail to represent in energetic language. All this,

* Among other excuses for not arresting those whom Howth had denounced, Chichester writes to Salisbury, Sept., 1607, thus: "He, Howth, could *not* bring a second person to justify the accusation, nor would appear himself to be the discoverer. He would, however, *induce* Delvin to discover the whole." From this it is manifest that the deputy mistrusted Howth, whose sensitiveness was so delicate. It is amusing to find that noble-minded individual engaging to suborn *another approver*, in the person of Delvin.

† In 1605, when James sent lord Howard to congratulate Philip on the birth of his son, afterwards Philip IV.

notwithstanding Howth continued on terms of apparent friendship with Tyrone, met him when he came to Dublin, and, to use Chichester's own words, "put buzzes in his ears," insinuating that the king meant to arrest him when he appeared in London to abide his majesty's arbitration of the disputed territory claimed by O'Cahan. Howth, having thus played the double part of privileged informer and simulating friend, may, it is probable, have seriously influenced Tyrone's future conduct, by confirming his suspicions of foul play on the part of the king, who he knew would not hesitate to lay hands on him, were he to come within his reach. Nor were his apprehensions unfounded; for even then, despite the flatteries of his courtiers, and the fawning creatures called "favorites," who are always found to be crawling in the saloons of the great James was acknowledged to be one of the most unprincipled and faithless men in Europe.

Meanwhile, Cuconnaught Maguire, growing weary of his impoverished condition, and longing to be rid of vexations he could no longer bear, contrived, about the middle of May, 1607, to make his escape from one of the northern ports to Ostend, whence he lost no time in proceeding to Brussels, where lord Henry O'Neill was then quartered with his Irish regiment. The latter presented him at the court of the archdukes, who received him kindly, and evinced deep sympathy for their Irish coreligionists, and especially the northern earls, with whose wrongs they were thoroughly conversant, through Florence Conry, fathers Cusack and Stanihurst. Father Conry, it would appear, informed Maguire that king James would certainly arrest Tyrone, if he went to London; and Maguire, on hearing this, despatched a trusty messenger to the earls to put them on their guard, and then set about providing

means for carrying them off the Irish shores. The influence of lord Henry with the archdukes procured him a donation of 7,000 crowns,* with which he purchased, at Rouen, a vessel of fourscore tons, mounting sixteen cast pieces of ordnance, manned by marines in disguise, and freighted with a cargo of salt. From Rouen the vessel proceeded to Dunkirk, under command of one John Bath, a merchant of Drogheda, and lay there, waiting instructions from Ireland. A wonderfully clever man at transformations was Cuconnaught; "for," says the examinate from whom we have gleaned these particulars,† "his friends in Brussels could hardly identify him in his mariner's costume;" and we may also add that he was a good sailor, accustomed, from earliest youth, to calm and storm on that many-island lake of Erne, on whose waters he was never again to unfurl canvas.

* The archdukes were greatly indebted to O'Neill, who gave ample employment to the queen's troops in Ireland during the war in the Netherlands, and thus prevented the English from aiding, as they wished, the revolted provinces.—See O'Neill's letter and the Informations concerning the ship, in Appendix.

† Appendix.

CHAPTER IV.

WE now return to the earl of Tyrone, whom we find with the deputy at Dungannon, in August, 1607, making a survey of the lands allotted to the maintenance of the fort of Charlemont, settling the bounds and mearings of same, and discussing the right of the garrison to *houseboot*, *hedgeboot*, and turbary growing in the neighborhood. Another momentous question, which gave Chichester and the earl cause for controversy, was a claim laid by primate Usher to certain townlands, Shanemullagh and Ballycullien, situate near said fort; but it was determined, with consent of the baron of Dungannon, that the earl of Tyrone and the king's primate should submit the matter to a court of equity. This business accomplished, Chichester returned towards Dublin, and rested at Slane, the ancient mansion of the Flemings, where he and the earl were entertained with great festivity. It was there the deputy informed him that he had written to the privy council in England, that he would repair to London in about three weeks' time to receive the king's decision in the suit between himself and O'Cahan; and that sir John Davys also would proceed there, "sufficiently instructed by him," Chichester, "the better to guide his majesty's princely judgment in the solution of the cause." In that same mansion Tyrone made humble

suit to the deputy in behalf of his nephew, then prisoner in Dublin Castle, charged with being concerned in an angry brawl, when a man was killed in hot blood, and offered, through some friends, £800 for his kinsman's enlargement, £500 to be paid in hand, and the rest when the prisoner was liberated. This was a tempting proposal to one whose career commenced with robbery; but Chichester thirsted for the man's blood, and refused either bribe or bail. As for Tyrone, he knew well what the deputy was able to bring to pass by impannelling such a jury as would not fail to convict any one bearing the hated name of O'Neill.

But what seems to have made the deepest and most painful impression on the earl's mind, was the announcement that Chichester had been superseded in the deputyship, and appointed president of Ulster. This, indeed, was not the case, although captain Edmund Leigh asserted it as a fact. Tyrone, however, instead of questioning it, believed that Leigh was correctly informed; and, consequently, felt mortified that Salisbury should have rejected his own suit for the place: nay, more, he saw at a glance what a long series of irremediable vexations would necessarily eventuate between himself and Chichester, when the latter should settle in Ulster, armed with the formidable powers of a president's commission. Foreseeing all this, he concluded that every hope of obtaining justice had vanished; that he and his were about to be placed under the immediate control of one who had done him so many wrongs—in a word, "that it was idle to struggle any longer against the stream."

At this crisis, Bath, captain of the vessel purchased by Cuconnaught Maguire, made his appearance at Slane, sought Tyrone, and privately told him, that if he went to London he was sure to be arrested by the king,

and that Tyrconnel might expect the same treatment at home. Such was the intelligence he brought from lord Henry O'Neill. Tyrone, indeed, was not wholly unprepared for the warning; but, however much he dissembled, he could not conceal from Chichester's vigilant eye that he suddenly became pensive and melancholy. Nor may we wonder at this, for the calamities of his unfortunate country weighed heavily on his heart, and the bitter grief that wrung it clouded all objects, past, present, and future, to his vision. Neither should we omit to mention, that, about three weeks before Bath's coming to Slane, the earl gave directions to his stewards to collect one half of his Michaelmas rents, leaving Chichester to think that he did so, either to provide funds for his voyage to London, or to defray the expenses attendant on the baron of Dungannon's projected marriage.

Immediately after his conference with Tyrone, captain Bath hastened to Ballyshannon, where he met the earl of Tyrconnel, and assured him that if he tarried in Ireland, it was all but certain he should lose either his life or his liberty. He also acquainted him with O'Neill's resolution to abandon the country; and having named the time and place where they were to meet, he charged him to lose no time in making preparation for his departure. Indeed, although we lack evidence to prove it, there is good reason to suppose that Tyrconnel was already aware that Maguire had purchased the vessel to carry him off. On the 8th of September, Tyrone took leave of the deputy, who returned to Dublin; and two days afterwards he proceeded to the "fair mansion of Mellifont," where he remained an entire day and night with sir Garret Moore. During that brief interval, and in the very scene of his bitterest humiliation, he doubtless often thought of the innumerable wrongs he had to

endúre ever since the hour of his precipitate submission; and it is only natural to suppose that his melancholy was deepened when he called to mind the king's perfidy, the inexorable cruelty of his subordinates, and, above all, the treachery of his own son-in-law. But a tenderer chord was touched, and vibrated through every fibre of his heart, when he reflected that he might not again see his "good sir Garret," the fosterer* of his son John. Moore, indeed, was amazed at the earl's unusual emotion, for he was unable to divine its cause, or perceive that the bonds which had so long attached them to one another were about to be disrupted for ever.

On the Sunday after his arrival at Mellifont, Tyrone bade sir Garret farewell; and after giving his blessing, "according to the Irish fashion," to every member of his friend's household, he and his suite took horse, and rode rapidly by Dundalk over the Fews to Bellanargit,† and thence across the upper Fews to Armagh. After staying a few hours in the primatial city, he crossed the Blackwater, and continued his journey to Creeve,‡ one of his *crannoges*, or island habitations, where he

* "Fostering," says sir John Davys, "hath always been a stronger alliance than blood; and the foster children so love and are loved of their foster-fathers and sept more than of their own natural parents and kindred; and so partake of their means more frankly, and so adhere unto them, in all fortunes, with more affection and constancy. Such a general custom in a kingdom, in giving and taking children to foster, making such a firm alliance as it doth in Ireland, was never seen or heard of in any other country of the world besides." He also remarks that a juror, who was gossip to either parties, might be challenged as not indifferent; and that there was no nation under the sun that ever made so religious account of gossipred as the Irish.

† Now Silverbridge.

‡ Situate within six miles of Dungannon, and three of the Oona bridge, close by Battleford. For a valuable account of *crannoges*, so numerous in the Swiss and Irish loughs, see sir W. Wilde's Catalogue of the R. I. A.

halted an entire day, till he was joined by his countess and her suite. On Wednesday they resumed their route, and rested that night at Lag-clogh-finn,* "the white stone hollow," in the vicinity of Munterlooney. Next day they reached Burn-Dennett, near Lifford, and halted there from noon till evening, when they crossed the Fersatmore,† or great ford of the Foyle, and hastened on to Adamnan's bridge,‡ where Caffar O'Donel was waiting for them. From the latter place they set out at daybreak, and rode to Rathmelton, and thence to Rathmullen, where they found Maguire and captain Bath laying stores of provisions aboard the ship, that had come into Lough Swilly, under French colors, and dropped anchor right opposite the ancient priory of the Carmelites. Here they were joined by Rory, earl of Tyrconnel, with a large following of his people.

At noon, on Friday, the feast of the Exaltation of Holy Cross, they all went on board the ship, lifted the anchor, but kept close in shore, waiting for two boats' crews, who were procuring water and fuel. The party destined for this duty was set upon by the son of Mac-Sweeny,§ of Fanad, who churlishly prevented them getting sufficient supply of these necessaries, so much so, that it was not till after sunset the boats came alongside the ship with a small quantity of wood and

* A townland in county Tyrone, marked in Ord. map S. 7, 12, about seven miles from Burn-Dennett water.

† So called to distinguish it from two smaller fords lower down the river. The Fersatmore is fordable at low water in summer, and is used as a passage for cattle into the island.

‡ Now called Mulrine's bridge, but anciently Ballindrait, or "Pons Adamnani." Near it stood a Columban monastery, founded by St. Adamnan, or Eunan, patron of Donegal. See Reeves' Columba.

§ He had recently taken a grant of his lands from the crown, and this accounts for his conduct. He was subsequently dispossessed, his loyalty notwithstanding. For an interesting notice of the Mac-Swynes, or MacSweenys, of Donegal, see Appendix.

water. At midnight, on the ever-memorable 14th of September, 1607, they spread all sail, and made for the open sea, intending, however, to land on the island of Aran, off the cost of Donegal, to provide themselves with more water and fuel.

Those who were now sailing away from their ancient patrimonies, were Hugh, earl of Tyrone, with his countess, Catharina, and their three sons, Hugh, John, and Bernard. With them also went Art Oge, "young Arthur," son of Cormac, Tyrone's brother; Fadorcha, son of Con, the earl's nephew; Hugh Oge, son of Brian, brother of Tyrone, and many more of their faithful clansmen. Those accompanying earl Rory were Cathbar, or Caffar, his brother; Nuala, his sister, wife of the traitor Nial Garve; Hugh, the earl's son, wanting three weeks of being one year old; Rosa, daughter of sir John O'Doherty, sister of sir Cahir, and wife of Cathbar, with her son Hugh, aged two years and three months; the son of his brother, Donel Oge; Naghtan, son of Calvagh, or Charles O'Donel, with many others of their trusted friends and followers. "A distinguished crew," observed the Four Masters, "was this for one ship; for it is certain that the sea never carried, and that the winds never wafted, from the Irish shores, individuals more illustrious or noble in genealogy, or more renowned for deeds of valor, prowess, and high achievements." Ah, with what tearful eyes and torn hearts did they gaze on the fast receding shores, from which they were forced to fly for the sake of all they held dearest! "The entire number of souls on board this small vessel," says O'Keenan,* in his Narra-

* The O'Keenans were *ollavs*, or historians, to the Maguires; and Teigue, author of the Narrative, accompanied the earls in their flight. His account of it was written in Irish, at Rome, in 1609, where the original is preserved in the convent of S. Isidoro. The work is un-

tive, "was ninety-nine, having little sea-store, and being otherwise miserably accommodated." It was, indeed, the first great exodus of the Irish nobles and gentry, to be followed, alas, by many another, caused, in great measure, by a similar system of cruel and exceptional legislation.

Unable to make the island of Arran, owing to a gale then blowing off the land, they stood out to sea; and when on the following midnight the wind fell, they shaped their course for the haven of Sligo, till they sighted the cone of Croagh-Patrick, with its cairn looming in the distance, which warned them that they were not far from Galway bay, and, consequently, in danger of being crossed by some of the king's cruisers. Dreading such a contingency, they resolved to steer westwards from the land, and, if possible, to make the harbor of Corunna in Spain. "But for thirteen days," continues O'Keenan, "the sea was angry, and the tempest left us no rest; and the only brief interval of calm we enjoyed, was when O'Neill took from his neck a golden crucifix, containing a relic of the true cross, and trailed it in the wake of the ship. At that moment, two poor merlins, with wearied pinions, sought refuge in the rigging of our vessel, and were captured for the noble ladies, who nursed them with tenderest affection." A trifling incident this, but pathetic withal!

On the 30th of September, the wind continued right ahead of the vessel, and captain Bath proposed to shape their course for the coast of Brittany, and make

finished, and consists of only 150 pages. Some missing folios, however, it would appear, have been inserted in other manuscripts belonging to the archives of the convent, which owed its foundation to the celebrated Luke Wadding, and other learned Irishmen of the same order. The representative of the O'Keenans is a respectable tradesman in the city of Dublin.

the land at Croisic. O'Neill assented to this, for they were all harassed by the bad weather, and apprehended that they must fall short of water and food. They accordingly made for the French coast; and after running two days and two nights, as they thought, in that direction, they fell in with two large ships, which at first they took to be English, but afterwards ascertained to be Danish merchantmen, bound homeward with wines from Spain. The Danes informed them that they were in the *Flemish* seas; and on learning this they were seized with panic on account of their proximity to the English coast, where there was danger of encountering some of the royal ships. They followed, however, in the wake of the Danes till the night fell, when they lost sight of them, As they had now abandoned the intention of sailing for Spain, a Frenchman on board their own ship proposed to take them to the coast of Normandy, and hearing this, O'Neill told him to land there if possible. The Frenchman, however, was a bad pilot; and as the wind was raging furiously, they were obliged to shorten sail, and let the vessel drift at the mercy of the waves. The sea broke over us, says O'Keenan, and many of the gentlemen were with difficulty saved from being swept off the deck.

At last, after standing some time off the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, they unfurled sail, for they were within sight of the French coast. The pilot, however, said he did not know where the harbor lay, and was greatly afraid of running the vessel aground. In this perplexity they were hailed by a French fishing-boat belonging to Rouen, and O'Neill offered a sum of money to any of the crew who would undertake to put them ashore. This offer was accepted, and the master of the fishing-boat told them he would keep ahead of the ship, or astern, as occasion might require; but as the wind

fell towards sunset, and they could not make the harbor, the boat took leave of them, generously refusing to receive gratuities for services which it was not in their power to render. Immediately after this they were hailed by a pilot-master of Rouen, who sent one of his people aboard the ship, and they sailed all that night under full canvas, till break of day, when they steered into the Seine, south of Havre de Grace. That auspicious morning was the 4th of October, the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, and the twenty-first day since they lost sight of the headlands of Donegal. Thus were these heart-broken exiles thrown upon a foreign strand, after having been rescued, as it were, by miracle, from the perils of the deep. Having dropped anchor in the harbor of Quillebœuf, they remained there the rest of the day, till nightfall, when they went ashore for a little exercise. Poor tempest-tossed exiles, on examining what provision they had left, all they could find was one gallon of beer and a single cask of water! *

Next day, at noon, they hired boats to convey the countess O'Neill, her ladies, and some of the children up the river to Rouen; but O'Neill, the earl, and seventeen of the gentlemen, proceeded on horseback to Labouille, where they remained that night. Next day, however, as they were leaving the town, they were accosted by an official, who told them that they should present themselves to the marshal of Normandy, who was then in Lisieux. O'Neill and those with him did so, and they were most kindly received by this high functionary of his majesty king Henry IV.

As for the ladies and gentlemen who went up the

* Writing to lord Shrewsbury, October 12, 1607, Salisbury alludes to O'Neill's voyage thus: "He was shrewdly tossed at sea, and met contrary winds for Spain. The English ambassador wishing Henry to stay them, had for answer, France is free."

river, they encountered many annoyances, owing to its intricate windings; but they had abundance of wine and provisions. The French people, too, on learning that they were Irish fugitives, were exceedingly generous to them. At last they reached the village of Saint Georges, on the north bank of the Seine, where they rested one night. Next morning they hired carriages and wagons to convey themselves and luggage to Rouen, where they arrived about noon on Sunday. On the Monday, O'Neill, the earl, Maguire, and the other gentlemen who had been with the marshal of Normandy, arrived in Rouen, to the great joy of the ladies and all the others, who feared that they had been placed under arrest. The marshal meanwhile wrote to king Henry, announcing the arrival of the Irish lords and their companions, and intimated to them that they should await the royal answer before they proceeded farther. This, indeed, caused them all to be apprehensive for their liberty, the more so as they knew that an emissary of king James had tracked them to the hostelry where they were lodged. On hearing the marshal's command, Matthew O'Multully, Tyrconnel's secretary, a man conversant with the French and Spanish languages, set out post haste for Paris, but the king's courier crossed him on the way with the royal answer. O'Multully, however, had audience of the king, to whom he narrated the adventures of the fugitives, the cause of their flight, and how they were temporarily detained by the governor of Normandy. His majesty then told him that he had had letters on the subject, and that he had forwarded instructions to the marshal. The king's secretary also told O'Multully that the Irish nobles were under the protection of France, and that the royal message would reach them before himself. The English ambassador, in the meanwhile, besought the king to hand them over to him, in order

that he might have them transported to England; but after waiting two days for audience, his majesty spurned his request, and told him that he would not suffer any one on French soil to molest noblemen and gentlemen who were compelled to fly their country on account of many grievances, but particularly for those that affected their religion. The decision was final, and the English ambassador had to submit; nor, indeed, could it have fallen out otherwise, for king Henry was well aware of O'Neill's high lineage and military career,* which entitled him to the sympathy and protection of every chivalrous heart. The English ambassador made another attempt to see the king, in the hope of being allowed to detain the fugitives, but his majesty would not see him, as he was then amusing himself with field sports.

The ambassador was sorely mortified, for he thought he had only to ask the extradition of the Irish nobles, and send them prisoners to James I., who, doubtless, would have consigned them, if not to the scaffold, most assuredly to the dungeons of the Tower. But he had to put up with the well-timed rebuff, and learn that king Henry cared little for his royal brother of England. The instruction conveyed by the royal courier to the marshal of Normandy was, that the Irish nobles should not tarry long in France, but should set out, with all

* "Henry IV.," says Camden, "used to call O'Neill the third soldier of his age, meaning that he himself was the first, and the Conde de Fuentes the second, an anecdote we have on the authority of the duke d'Ossuna, who to this day testifies that he heard the king so call him."—Apol. p. 1181. To this we may add what the learned author of Camb. Eversus says on the same subject:—"Such was O'Neill's success, that, in the last wars with the English, there perished two lords-lieutenant, seven generals, 500 officers, and 80,000 English soldiers."—Alithonologia. An Italian writer, Primo Damaschino, also mentions O'Neill among the most famous generals of his chivalrous age, and repeats the anecdote related by Camden.

convenient speed, for Flanders. This being notified to them, O'Multully took horse for Brussels, where O'Neill's son, Henry, was then with his regiment, in order to get the necessary passports from the archdukes.

At length, on the 15th of October, O'Neill, the earl, the ladies, and all their followers, set out from Rouen. The whole party consisted of thirty-one who went on horseback, and forty on foot. They had two carriages for the ladies, and three wagons to convey their baggage. Before leaving Rouen, the churches of which they visited and admired, they ascended St. Catherine's hill, which commands a beautiful prospect of the city; and on taking leave of the marshal of Normandy, who accompanied them thither, O'Neill made him a present of forty tons of salt which were in the ship that carried him and his from Lough Swilly; and the ladies requested his acceptance of the two merlins which found an ark in that same tempest-tossed vessel. The marshal complied with their wish, and professed himself pleased with this mark of their gratitude.

From Rouen they travelled as rapidly as they could to Amiens, where they tarried some time to visit its great fortifications, and the splendid cathedral, where they were shown the head of St. John the Baptist. Their stay there, however, was brief; but all who had heard of their flight gave them warm welcome and cordial greeting, the more so when they learned that the English ambassador at Paris had done his utmost to get possession of their persons.

From Amiens they prosecuted their journey till they reached Arras, where they visited the cathedral, the shrine and relics of St. Vaast, the Holy Candle,* and

* "In the middle of the market-place is a chapel with a cupola built after the Italian manner, and finely adorned by presents from all parts of the country, in honor to a candle which they say the

every other object of interest in that ancient city. It was there they heard what Henry IV. said to the English ambassador, namely, that France was a free country, and that he would not dishonor himself by seizing the persons of fugitives whom he pitied.

Even at the risk of interrupting O'Keenan's narrative, we may observe that none of these Irish exiles could have foreseen that a little boy, with auburn ringlets, then in their company, would one day win renown by defending that same city of Arras against two of the ablest marshals of France. Nevertheless, such was the case; for, thirty-three years afterwards, Owen Roe O'Neill, son of Art, and nephew to the earl of Tyrone, with his regiment of Irish, maintained the place against Chatillon and Meillarie, till he had to make a most honorable capitulation.* From Arras the exiles proceed to Douay, where grand preparations were made for their entertainment by the civil and military authorities, and also by father Cusack, rector of the Irish seminary there. The students† of that house invited O'Neill and his followers to the college, where, after feasting them splendidly, they recited odes in Latin and Greek,‡ eulogising his

Virgin Mary brought with her own hands here in the year 1105, in the time of a great lightning, and that whoever touches this candle shall never be hurt by lightning. It is kept in a silver case adorned with precious stones, and such crowds of people flock thither whenever it thunders and lightens, to make their offerings to the candle, that it surpasses expression and belief."—A Journey through the Austrian Netherlands, by the author of the Journey through England and Scotland: London, 1732. This object of popular devotion is also mentioned by Hericourt, who says it was carried in public processions on extraordinary occasions.—Sieges d'Arras.

* August, 1640. See Hericourt's Sieges d'Arras.

† The Douay students had good reason to fete O'Neill, for he used his influence with the archduke Albert on behalf of their college. See Appendix.

‡ In the S. P. O. there is a Latin speech spoken on this occasion, and catalogued "A Most Lewd Oration made before the Earls." It

many victories, and congratulating him on his escape from Ireland. In Douay, father Conry met the nobles, and embraced them while tears of joy trickled down his cheeks. Thither also came Dr. Eugene M'Mahon,* a most erudite and elegant scholar, to give them cordial greeting. Happy were the exiles when they met this eminent ecclesiastic. Their next halting-place was Tournay,† and the moment their arrival was announced, the entire population, with monseigneur d'Esne,‡ the archbishop, came to meet and conduct them through their ancient city. They remained there two days, and during their sojourn, the archbishop lodged and entertained them as beseemed people of their rank and unmerited misfortunes.

Four days afterwards they reached that most sacred goal of many a pilgrimage—Notre-Dame de Hal—so celebrated by the pen of Juste Lipse; and after praying before Mary's shrine, were met by a large number of officers, Irish, Spaniards, and Belgians, of the archduke's army, who, in the name of their chiefs, gave them a hearty welcome. It was during their abode at Hal that Henry O'Neill, accompanied by Spinola, generalissimo of the Spanish army, came to

was copied by an unskilful hand, but, as may be supposed, it is a *eulogy of O'Neill.*

* He was educated at Pont-a-Mousson, and succeeded Matthew de Oviedo in the see of Dublin, where he spent eight years. He died at Rome, and was buried in the church of S. Pietro Montorio. See Rev. Dr. Moran's Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin.

† "On the road between Douay and Tournay," says O'Keenan, "we visited the grave of a holy Irishman named Lienard, where great miracles are performed." This, however, was a mistake, for the saint was *not* Irish, but a Frank of the court of Clovis I. The hamlet in which he reposes is called *Racke*, anciently frequented by pilgrims.—Martin. Hist. des Saints de la Province de Lille, &c.

‡ He consecrated David Kearney, archbishop of Cashel, 31st Aug., 1603.—Gallia Christ. t. iii.

greet them; and surely tongue could not tell how great was O'Neill's joy, when the colonel, Henry, embraced his parent. On the instant, Spinola invited O'Neill, the earl, and their entire following, to a banquet in Brussels. Soon afterwards a courier arrived with a letter from the archdukes, bearing a letter addressed to O'Neill, inviting him and Tyrconnel to repair to Marimont, a hunting seat where their highnesses were then staying. On hearing this, Spinola set out for Brussels, and sent a sufficient number of carriages to convey the Irish lords and their ladies to the court. On their arrival there, Albert and Isabella met them at the palace door, and gave them cordial welcome. They inquired anxiously about the incidents of their escape and voyage from Ireland; and the gentle heart of the royal consort was deeply affected by the narrative of their sufferings in Ireland and on the seas. Having taken leave of their highnesses, O'Neill and his companions proceeded to Brussels, where Spinola was awaiting their arrival.

At the banquet given by that distinguished general to the Irish exiles, there were present among other celebrities of the time, the duke d'Aumale, the marquis d'Ossuna, the truly eminent cardinal Bentivoglio,* then nuncio of Paul V. in the Netherlands, colonel Henry O'Neill, the Spanish ambassador from the court of Madrid, and many others not less known to fame. Spinola assigned place to each of his honored guests, O'Neill occupying Spinola's own chair at the centre of the table, the pope's nuncio on his right hand; Tyrconnel, the sons of O'Neill and Maguire being placed in due order on the same side, while the opposite one

* This distinguished cardinal wrote many works, the most valuable of which are a History of the Civil Wars in Flanders; an Account of that Country, Letters, &c., &c. He died in 1644.

was filled by the duke d'Aumale, the Spanish ambassador, the duke d'Ossuna, viceroy of Sicily, the host himself, and many other noble and distinguished personages. It was a banquet, observes O'Keenan, of which a king might be proud; and there was plate, gold and silver, of which no crowned head in Christendom could have been ashamed.

After staying some days in Brussels, O'Neill and his people proceeded on the 9th November to Louvain, where they were joyfully received by the burgomeister, the citizens, and the Irish of the Franciscan convent there.

Among other distinguished personages who came to congratulate and welcome them to the learned city of the Low Countries, was sir William Stanley,* who, years before, had fought in Glenmalure, where he was defeated by the chief of the O'Byrnes, but was now in the service of the king of Spain, to whom he surrendered the city of Deventer. In fact, every noble-minded man and woman sympathized with them, and took especial pains to show the sycophants of king James

* In 1581, he was commissioned by the deputy, lord Grey de Wilton, to extirpate the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and Cavanaghs; but, as we have said, was signally defeated by the chief of these septs. He subsequently entered the Spanish service, and commanded a regiment of Irish 1,400 strong, who are described by Strada, the Jesuit historian, thus: "They were rude, fierce, covered only in the middle of the body and under the navel, the rest naked. Raised on stilts, in the use of which in crossing rivers they greatly excelled, they were formidable with their bows and arrows."—De Bello Belg. Card. Allen published at Rome, 1587, a vindication of Stanley's conduct for delivering Deventer to the Spaniards, alleging that he was conscientiously bound to do so. This veteran took the Carthusian habit, and died, aged 95, in Ostend. How apposite to such a career are the lines describing the cloister life of an old crusader:—

"Ipse post militiæ cursum temporalis,
Illustratus gratia doni spiritalis,
Esse Christi cupiens miles specialis,
In hac domo monachus factus est claustralis."

that they disapproved his conduct to such illustrious Irishmen.

The mansion assigned by the archdukes for O'Neill's residence at Louvain, was that in which the emperor Charles V. spent his boyish days ; and Tyrconnel and the others had splendid accommodation provided for them in the same city of schools and churches. Such was the reception given to the Irish fugitives ever since they set foot in France and Belgium, and such the courtesy they met from foreigners. How strangely did not all this contrast with the treatment they were accustomed to in their own land, at the hands of a despicable English proconsul and his vile subordinates! Their safe arrival in Belgium was announced to the Holy See by archbishop Lombard, to whom father Florence Conry sent a narrative of their adventures since they sailed from Ireland.

We will now leave them in Louvain, preparing a report of their grievances and reasons for quitting their patrimonies, which they resolved to send to king James, and return to Ireland, where there was great consternation when their flight was made known.

The earliest intelligence of the event was given to the deputy on the 17th of September, by sir Cormac O'Neill, who hastened to Dublin with the news, hoping to obtain a custodiam of his brother's lands. But poor false-hearted Cormac never foresaw the reward that awaited him. Chichester suspected him of collusion, and Cormac's endeavors to remove the prejudice were unavailing. He was ready, he professed, to correspond *in Irish* with his brother, and ascertain for the deputy's satisfaction what he meditated, the designs he harbored, nay, the very names of all those who were his favorers and abettors in Ireland. He also declared that he had quarreled with the earl, dis-

approved his general conduct, was his rival, and, consequently, influenced by that old passion which the poet tells us often arms brother against brother—

"Tu potes unanimes armare in prælia fratres."

But Chichester thought less of his protestations than he did of his person, for he caused him to be cast into the Castle prison, whence he was soon afterwards transported to the Tower of London, where he lingered out a life of bitter remorse. The next intelligencers were Toby Caulfield, the deputy's sir Pandarus, and Edmond Leigh, high sheriff of Tyrone, each with his own version of all the circumstances of the flight. Both, of course, deserved some signal mark of Chichester's consideration, and Caulfield was immediately appointed receiver over Tyrone's estates, and empowered to seize the goods and chattels of him and those who had fled with him.* As for Leigh, he was to look forward hopefully to the confiscations which were soon to take place. Finally came the loyal baron of Howth, who, after amplifying all his former discoveries, boasted that he ought to be styled, not informer or fabricator, but *prophet*, and suggested the advisability of "strengthening places of defence, and promoting himself to a troop of horse, as otherwise the kingdom might be suddenly lost or endangered by an invasion." Indeed, the lord of Howth was true to the traditions of his calling—for have not all informers been wonderfully suggestive? Chichester heard each of them patiently, and immediately set about preparing a series of despatches for the information of the English cabinet.

But before we submit those interesting documents to the reader, we deem it necessary to state that the deputy, on his return from Slane to Dublin, received

* See Appendix.

two "Advertisements," which he regarded of great moment, from sir Richard Hansard, then commanding the garrison of Lifford. The first of these relates to two Franciscan friars, just come from Spain on business of their order, and not, as the deputy fancied, to stimulate the sorely-oppressed people of Ulster with hopes of an invasion from that kingdom. Chichester, however, looked on a chapter of friars as nothing less than a council of war, and concluded that it was his duty to either seize the conspirators, or ascertain, through the agency of some well-affected delator, what were their plans and ultimate designs. The volunteer to do the latter part of this work was Nial Garve O'Donel, who *then* stood high in his excellency's estimation for his base services as informer—one of that tribe which a great thinker has happily described as "*the most accursed, prostitute, and abandoned, that God ever permitted to plague mankind.*"* Nial, however, does not seem to have elicited anything of moment from father O'Mullarky or father Maurice Ultagh, both of whom afterwards signalized themselves, the one somewhat doubtfully—with the sword—and the other with the more becoming weapon—the pen—as all readers of the Annals of the Four Masters well know.

"*Advertisement from sir Richard Hansard to the lord deputy, 5th September*, 1607.

"Sir Niai O'Donel was with me when cornet Cartwright delivered me your lordship's letter, to whom I read the contents thereof, and concluded with him that he should confer with Edmond O'Mullarky, which he undertook with such willingness, as expressed a great desire to serve your lordship. Edmond being not then with him, he sent for him, and, upon conference with

* Swift.

him, was informed that a friar, called Thomas M'Edmond, was employed into Munster about some innovation, whose endeavors were so successful as his travels, to use his own phrase, did promise good hope of fruit to the benefit of the common good. Maurice Ultagh,* who was confessor to O'Donel, left Spain three weeks since, landed at Cork the last month, and came to Donegal about the 26th of the same. Instantly upon his arrival, the earl of Tyrconnel being then in Fanad, he despatched his letters to him, with one inclosed out of Spain to Owen Groome Magrath, a friar, who was then with the earl, and to Edmond O'Mullarky; the substance of his letter to the last, was only a request that he would come unto him; the contents of his former letters are yet kept secret. The earl, upon receipt of his letters, sent him a horse, with ten pounds in money; three pounds thereof was given to the friars of Donegal, to pray for the success of the business yet unknown. After Owen Magrath was joined to Maurice Ultagh, they passed both together to Dungannon, where they remain at this present, without expecting the company of Edmond, whose faith, as I am made to believe, is something suspected to all of that faction for his nearness to sir Nial O'Donel. This Maurice Ultagh, to my conjecture, seemeth to be the same man of danger whom your lordship mentioned in your letters, of the substance of whose employment sir Nial hath faithfully promised to inform your lordship so soon as he shall understand the same."

The second advertisment was, if possible, far more momentous than the first, for it related to a pastoral letter from Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, exhorting his clergy and flock to constancy in their faith,

* *Alias* O'Donlevy.

despite the persecution they had to endure. This, of course, was little short of high treason. But as to the section of the "Discovery" which sets forth that Lombard required money to go to Spain, for the purpose of sending the Irish soldiers serving there to their own country, it was simply a wicked invention of O'Carolan. If, indeed, the primate ever commissioned the Irish priesthood to collect moneys, we may take it for granted that his object was to sustain Irish Catholic seminaries on the Continent, since king James would not sanction them in any part of his dominions.

"*Hugh O'Carolan's Discovery, September 7th*, 1607.

"First, he speaks of a letter from Rome, and brought by one Gouldinge, a deacon who lives there, some two months past, unto certain Seminary priests, Jesuits, and men of note in this country, from one primate Lombard, a Waterford man born, directed unto one James Plunkett, bishop of Meath,* and James Walsh, abbat of Mellifont, father Hollywood† and father Lennon, Jesuits, and unto one doctor White and others, their associates, to understand and know how the noblemen and gentlemen of the country stand affected, and whether they would have him, the said primate Lombard, to deal with the pope's holiness for his letter unto the king of Spain, for the employing of the Irish army and others now in his entertainment, to be sent over into this land for their aid and better continuance in their religion. Further, primate Lombard's

* Like the generality of informers, ancient and modern, O'Carolan, knowing very little about the clergy, made Plunkett a bishop, whereas he was only vicar-general of Meath. He was appointed vicar-apostolic of Kildare 1617, and died 1629.

† A distinguished Jesuit, born at Artane, county Dublin. For a list of his works, see Ware's Writers of Ireland.

request is, to have some exhibition presently gathered, and to be sent over unto him towards his charge and travel into Spain about this business, and for other their agents. Upon receipt of which letters, the priests, Seminarists and Jesúits, were gotten together, to the number of fifty or sixty, to consult thereof, about the beginning of this instant month, and have dispersed themselves to gather and collect money for this business."

The foregoing documents were too important to be pretermitted here, and the reader will appreciate their relevancy when he sees, in the course of this work, how audaciously king James and his ambassadors misrepresented the condition of the Irish Catholics. We will have to revert to that subject again, but meanwhile we invite the reader's attention to the narratives of the flight, which the deputy despatched from the castle of Rathfarnham.

"*Lord deputy to the lords of the council, by sir Oliver Lambert.*

"It may please your lordships,—Having taken such order for the present affairs of Munster as I writ unto your lordships in my former despatch, I did soon after go down towards the borders of Ulster, minding to spend the rest of this long vacation there, as well to attend the ordinary business of that province, which ever affords store of complaints, as also further to examine and discuss the advertisements which formerly passed between some of your lordships and me, the which, though out of a right apprehension in a settled state, they then seemed ripe enough for a present and effectual resolution, yet I chose rather to proceed slowly and tenderly, as I was directed, upon good considerations I must confess, than

to show myself a severe physician, though towards intemperate and desperate patients, whom I could neither safely deal with, nor yet abandon without manifest peril or imputation.

"I did there prepare an ample relation for your lordships of all such things as I thought specially tending to the confirmation of the advertisements of the party known to the earl of Salisbury by the cypher of A. B., laying them down at several times as they came from him or any other. The earl of Tyrone came to me there oftentimes upon sundry artificial occasions, as now it appears, and, by all his discourses, seemed to intend nothing more than the preparation for his journey into England against the time appointed, only he showed a discontent, and professed to be much displeased with his fortune, in two respects: the one, for that he conceived he had dealt, in some sort, unworthily with me, as he said, to appeal from hence unto his majesty and your lordships in the cause between sir Donald O'Cahan and him; the other, because that notwithstanding he held himself much bound unto his majesty, that so graciously would vouchsafe to hear, and finally to determine the same, yet that it much grieved him to be called upon so suddenly, when, as what with the strictness of time and his present poverty, he was not able to furnish himself as became him for such a journey and for such a presence. In all things else he seemed very moderate and reasonable, albeit he never gave over to be a general solicitor in all causes concerning his country and people, how criminal soever. But now I find that either he hath been much abused by some that have cunningly terrified and diverted him from coming to his majesty, which, considering his nature, I hardly believe, or else he had within him a thousand witnesses testifying that he was as deeply engaged in those secret treasons as any of the

rest whom we knew or suspected; for yesterday I received sundry advertisements, as well by his own brother, sir Cormac O'Neill, as from the primate of Armagh, sir Toby Caulfield, and sundry others, that himself and his lady, the baron of Dungannon, his eldest son, and two others of his children, John and Brian, both under seven years old, the earl of Tyrconnel and his son and heir, an infant not yet of one year of age, his brother, Caffar O'Donel, and his son, an infant of two years or less, with divers others of their nearest and trustiest followers and servants, as well men as women, to the number of between thirty and forty persons, have taken shipping upon Friday last at Lough Swilly, in Tyrconnel, with a purpose to go into Spain, as it is yet affirmed.

"Suddenly, upon the first advertisement thereof, I went to Dublin the same night, and with the advice of the council there, took such order for the arresting of the shipping and them, if it were possible, and for the preservation of the general peace and quiet of the realm as was thought meet. I despatched letters to the earl of Argyle, and into all ports and creeks of this realm, to make stay of them if by contrary winds and weather they should be stayed or driven upon the coasts. We gave order to man out some ships or vessels out of Galway and Munster, to cross them in their course that way, if it may be. I also writ to captain St. John, now upon the coast of Scotland, with the charge of the Lion's Whelp, unless he be returned thence for England, as I formerly required him of late to do, by direction from the lord admiral, to make all speed after them towards the coast of Spain, and to make his course by the north and west parts of this realm, if he found himself fit, and thought it available, all circumstances of wind and weather considered, after the receipt of the said letter. We have published a proclamation to quiet and secure

the poor inhabitants of those countries, who were much perplexed with the first fruit of these news, and we sent out a commission, directed to the principal commanders and gentlemen in those parts, both English and Irish, to attend the preservation of the peace upon all and every occasion. We have committed sir Cormac O'Neill, because it appeared upon his examination that being come after the earl, his brother, as far as Dunalonge, within five miles of Derry and Lifford, late upon Thursday night, and there learning the earl's resolution, he did not give notice thereof to either garrison, but conccaled it until he was assured they were embarked and gone, himself remaining all the next day at the castle of Newtown,* as it should seem, expecting the certain news, and thereof to be the first messenger unto me, as indeed he was. If, on the other side, he had advertised the garrisons, they might easily have prevented all this ; for the baron of Dungannon came to the Derry upon Friday, the morrow after, where he bought a certain quantity of bread and other necessaries to entertain his father, that was then at Newtown, as he there gave it out, all which he carried directly to the rest of the company at Lough Swilly, where presently after they all took shipping.

"Sir Cormac is the only man now left in this kingdom who is in reversion of the earldom ; after him in remainder is his son, Art Oge O'Neill, who is likewise gone away with the carl. Before them both, and next to the earl, are his two eldest sons, the baron of Dungannon and Henry O'Neill, now with the archduke ; the rest of the carl's sons by his countess, who are three, are not included in the grant. I have given warrant likewise to sir Toby Caulfield to make search for Con

* Newtownards.

O'Neill, one of the earl's children, among his fosterers in Tyrone, and to take him into his safe custody, until he receive other direction in his behalf.

"This child was by accident left behind, for the earl sought him diligently, but by reason he was overtaken with shortness of time, and for that the people of those parts do follow their creates,* as they call them, in solitary places, and where they best like their pastures, after the manner of the Tartars, they are not therefore, always ready to be found. I have caused warders to be placed in the castles of Dungannon, Newtown, and the fort of Dunalonge, the principal places belonging to the earl of Tyrone; the like course shall be taken at Donegal and Asheroe,† the only two places of importance that appertain to the earl of Tyrconnel. I have also given order for the examining of Bartholomew Owen,‡ and all such who for their inwardness with the earl may seem to know or guess at the reason of his sudden departure, as also to examine and certify what violence or outrage hath been committed by them upon any of the king's subjects before they took shipping, as I am informed they have done. This is the most of that I have done for the present; and now I beseech your lordships to hold us excused, if we could not foresee and prevent this unlooked-for accident, which was by some of the fugitives long since thought upon and resolved, as formerly I have advertised to some of your lordships, and to believe that such secret practices, by a people wholly alienated from us, can hardly be made frustrate here in these desolate countries, being out of all trade or frequentation of people, and suddenly undertaken by persons of their qualities, and within their own lands, where every one is a *roytetè*, having, by long custom and his

* Flocks. † Ballyshannon. ‡ A Franciscan friar.

majesty's gracious indulgence, the whole dependence and service of the subjects at their devotion.

"The earl of Tyrone, I must confess, I could never suspect of so disloyal and shallow intention as this, considering his fortune, years, and experience; besides the great obligation wherein he was more bound to the king our sovereign than any other subject of this realm, if not of his whole dominions. Besides, I was well assured he could never be touched with any of these delations now on foot and apparent, except it were by the earl of Tyrconnel himself, Henry O'Hagan, or some priest, which I intended to discover, if it were possible, upon the apprehension of Tyrconnel, when it should so fall out, which I intended to affect within these three days, if he had come this way to fetch down the countess, his wife, as it was surely expected and given out by himself. But now these things are fallen out thus contrary to all expectation or likelihood, by the good providence of God, I hope, over this miserable people, for whose sake, it may be, he hath sent his majesty this rare and unlooked for occasion, whereby he may now, at length, with good apprehension and prudent handling, repair an error which was committed in making these men proprietary lords of so large territories, without regard of the poor freeholders' rights, or of his majesty's service and the commonwealth's, that are so much interested in the honest liberty of that sort of men, which now, in time, I commend unto your lordships' grave consideration and wisdom, and will come to that which nearest concerns ourselves and the preservation of the whole.

"But before I go any further, I will yet recommend unto your lordships one thing of singular consequence to be certainly known, and that with as much convenient speed as may be, the better to censure the depth

of their malice and proceedings, and to prevent the danger, if any be. These persons are of great power and great reputation here, and the rather so because their countries and forces are contiguous, and like affected together, in respect of themselves and towards us; and it may be the like or greater opinion is conceived of them abroad. Now, we see that, notwithstanding they owe their fortunes and whatsoever else they are, unto his majesty, yet they are gone out of his dominions in this strange manner, and have carried with them all their moveables that men hold dearest, all which are effects of excessive great hope or fear.

"If they were invited into Spain, then may we presume the same was accepted of and entertained upon assurance of forces and means to prosecute some dangerous designs upon their return; if otherwise, they departed upon knowledge, or strong apprehension only that their treasons were discovered, then is the matter of no great moment; for we may hope they may rather be consumed there with want and discontent, than think that the king of Spain will entertain rebels in such sort against the king our master, as to break the league which of late he so carefully sought and embraced. It behoves, therefore, his majesty and your lordships to employ many eyes and ears to understand for whether of these considerations they went away, and accordingly determine of the affairs of this realm, which is now in a very weak state to defend herself against any sudden attempt of an enemy; for I find that few of the inhabitants are well affected. I find, likewise, that of our own forces we shall not be able to draw together above 300 foot and 100 horse into any one place in fourteen days' space, upon any occasion whatsoever, leaving our garrisons and wards but meanly defended in the meantime; besides, the new wards,

that must be put into the earl's places, which I formerly named, will make our forces, on that side, very much disjoined and thin. Yet I will have due care to supply that defect, when I hear of any occasions which may seem necessarily to require it.

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER."

The foregoing despatch, although minute in its details, and to all intents calculated to convince the king's cabinet that the Irish deputy deserved no blame for suffering the earls to escape, was followed by two more, in which he supplies circumstances that had not come to his knowledge till after the first had been forwarded to London. We, therefore, insert them here, as every hitherto unpublished document, calculated to throw light on a subject of such importance, cannot fail to interest the reader.

"*Lord deputy and council to the privy council.*

"It may please your lordships,—We understand for certain, that the earl of Tyrone and his wife, the baron of Dungannon, his son, two other of his sons, named Shane and Brian, with some of his followers and trustiest servants, as also the earl of Tyrconnel and his young son, the baron of Donegal, the earl's brother, Caffar O'Donel, and his son, with some few of their servants and followers, did ship themselves in a French ship, about the burden of threescore tons, and on Friday morning, being the 14th hereof, set sail for Spain. The first that brought us news hereof was sir Cormac Mac Baron, the earl of Tyrone's brother, and sir Toby Caulfield. Sir Cormac affirms that he was sent for to have gone with them, when first they did take shipping, which, as he saith, he did refuse, letting them know

that he would inform the state thereof; but sure it is, and so he confesseth, that they have taken his eldest son with them, which gives us great cause to suspect that he is not unacquainted with their purpose. His coming hither was on Sunday night late; and on Monday morning, while we were together in council, despatching what in such case was meet, captain Leigh came to us from the Derry, confirmed what sir Cormac had reported, and enlarged it with divers particulars; among others, he showed us probably that the bark they went in was provided by a merchant of Tredagh (Drogheda), named John Bath, and laid ready for them at Lough Swilly, under pretence of fishing on the coast, which made the same unsuspected, and the rather for that the earl of Tyrone gave out that he was providing to go for England, and his son, the baron of Dungannon, pretended a match in Scotland about which he was forthwith to go thither. So soon as we had gotten such a certainty, we sent forth our letters, which on the first news were made ready, directing the governors and other officers nearest the sea-coast to make provision for their stay, if it pleased God, by storm or contrary winds, to beat them into any place, or speedily to man out barks after them if they find the wind to have stood so as they can hope of good thereby, and can be fitted for it, for which purpose also the king's ship hath directions; and further, to keep their people in quiet by all the best means they can devise. And because the two countries where those earls had chief command—and the county of Fermanagh, from whence Maguire was, in like sort, gone before for Spain—were likeliest to run suddenly into greatest disorder, those people being apt to think that the offences of their lords are punishable on them, how innocent soever, which conceit of theirs it behoveth us by all means to

remove, we have made choice of meet commissioners to right them in their wrongs, and free them from oppression, and assured them by proclamation of his majesty's gracious disposition towards them and princely care of them, so long as they themselves continue loyal, and that by this course they may live more happily than ever heretofore. This is all that we could do on such a sudden, both for keeping of the country in quiet and discovering the depth of this conspiracy, which it behoved us with speed to give your lordships an account of; humbly praying you to be assured hereby, that we will bend our endeavor as becomes us to satisfy your lordships more fully upon every apt occasion. In the meantime, we think fit to add this for your lordships' information, that though one of these earls—to wit, Tyrconnel—hath given former causes of suspicion, which the deputy got light of, and so signified thither; yet, the other—to wit, Tyrone—hath carried himself so warily as we could not reasonably suspect him; and on the other side, we have dealt so tenderly with him as we have rather erred in bearing over much with him, and in pressing aught against him, or doing aught that might discontent or distaste him, so as we cannot so much as guess why he should run himself into this desperate and sudden course, unless out of fear, grounded upon guilt of conscience, that some practices of his, which we did not so much as dream of, were discovered there in England, which, at his coming thither, he should hear of; for it is observed here by some that knew him best, that since he received his majesty's letter for his repair thither, he did lose his former cheerfulness, and grew often exceeding pensive. This matter is of much consequence, as we cannot be sufficiently provident for the sequel; and, therefore, we must humbly recommend the same unto your lordships, who

best knowing what these men may expect from Spain, on whom, no doubt, they wholly do depend, can best judge and prevent what, in your wisdoms, seems most to threaten us. Our wants, especially of money to answer any sudden occasion that may happen, are well known unto your lordships, and so particularly enlarged of late, from me the deputy, and me the treasurer, that we mean not at this time to be further troublesome, how great soever our necessities be, than only to remember your lordships thereof. And so take most humble leave.

"From Rathfarnham, the 9th of September, 1607.

"Your lordships' humbly at command,

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER."

"*Lord deputy to my lord Salisbury.*

"It may please your lordship,—My letters to the lords, and the other papers contained in this packet, will discover the sudden and unlooked-for departure of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel for Spain, as is conceived. I am by these to give your lordship to understand what I have drawn from A. B., and what I conceive of this accident. For the first, it is declared by the enclosed, drawn out of sundry discourses had with him, by which your lordship may perceive I had no other grounds from him, nor any other, until it was too late to lay hand upon any of the conspirators, but his bare accusation, which is little more than he delivered there, as himself hath told me. If my forbearance to apprehend the earl of Tyrconnel or C. D., for of others he hath not spoken but by hearsay, be conceived, upon this accident, for an error, I humbly excuse myself in this manner. First, I was directed by your lordship *in hæc verba*, you shall so weigh all circumstances, as light or weak proofs, grounded upon reports from second or third hands, may not engage his majesty into any open

action against these supposed practices, without such proofs as, when they should be called in question, might become scandalous to his majesty's princely justice, &c.; and seeing he could not bring a second person to justify the accusation, nor would appear himself to be the discoverer, and telling me that the king was pleased, upon his humble suit, to remit a pardon, by his princely promise, of the offence of C. D., I knew I should have transgressed if I had committed either of them. The departure of either of these men hath now assured me that much of what he hath said is true, and all probable; wherefore, I have given direction for the apprehension of L. M., N. O., and one Murrough-na-More O'Flahertie, of Connaught, whom, I understand, are deepest in the business, and most dangerous persons; and I humbly pray directions what I shall do with the rest, A. B. himself, and such others as he hath or shall name unto me. We shall never discover the depth of this treason further than we have, but upon examinations of the parties accused. A. B. persuades me he will bring C. D. to discover the whole; if he do, it will be well; but I am greatly jealous of him, and that he hath had some working in these men's sudden departure, for he hath but buzzes in the head of the earl of Tyrone since his arrival, telling him that the king said to sir Patrick Murray, when he used some speech to his majesty in his commendation, saying he was an honest man: 'Patrick,' said the king, 'I pray God he prove so;' and willed him to be well provided of money to make friends when he came over, for he had now but few there. This much by his own confession: he seems now to be much grieved with these men's departures, thinking his discovery is made known to his disgrace and dishonor; but that which troubles him most is that your lordship had not given him more credit at

the first, for he saith you were mistrustful of him, and made slight of his discoveries. In all this I have given him good satisfaction. But I find it nigh time to look to ourselves, for, as he hath often told me, we are bought and sold; and howsoever I carry a good face on the matter, to hearten our friends and discourage others, yet I find the kingdom hath not been in like danger these one hundred years; wherefore it behoves your lordship, who sits at the helm, to have care of us, for here we have but a few friends, and no means to gain more. First of all, it is high time to despatch away the two presidents of Munster and Connaught, and to fortify and strengthen the towns and places of most advantage; for if they went hence as sent for by the king of Spain, which is the vulgar opinion here, albeit I have many reasons to think otherwise, then their return will be shortly; if frightened by their own guilt of conscience, then shall we have time to arm and provide ourselves to receive them. I humbly beseech your lordship to procure me the king's allowance, to employ two or three men, such as I may trust, into Spain or elsewhere these fugitives are to be found, and I doubt not to have good intelligence what was the cause of their departure, and what they wish and intend. I have permitted sir Oliver Lambert to pass thither to your lordship, as he intended before these news came unto us. I have acquainted him with what I intend and think needful for the present, and do humbly beseech your lordship to give him a speedy despatch in such matter as he hath to propound, that he may hasten his return unto us; for if there be innovations or other troubles here by reason of these men's departures, or upon their return, he will be my best assistant. If I can keep all things upright for the present, the service will be great, and these men's departures may prove

profitable for the commonwealth, in which I will do my best. A. B. hath propounded to have a troop-horse for himself, and another for C. D. It is time to enter 100 or 50 horse more, at least, that they may be in readiness, if occassion call upon us, for they are not so soon gotten together and fitted in this kingdom as foot will be ; part of which may be well bestowed upon sir Oliver Lambert, and other some upon sir Garret Moore, who will soon raise them, and keep them ready for the service ; so will A. B. If your lordship be pleased therewith, he expects great commendations and rewards for the service he hath done by this discovery ; and surely it is a matter of great moment, howsoever his lightness and inconstancy may otherwise blemish him ; yet I persuade him that the king's majesty will be gracious unto him when the depth is discovered, and the corrupt members cut off.

"I commit the rest to this gentleman's relation, and humbly pray your lordship to excuse this imperfect writing at this time. In haste, at Rathfarnham, the 18th of September, 1607. Your lordship's in all true and faithful service,

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER."

Salisbury's reply to these letters shows that he was nowise disconcerted by their contents, but rather rejoiced that the king had now an opportunity of appropriating the lands of the fugitives, and parcelling them out among greedy adventurers, or guilds who were ready to advance money for the purchase of them. Viewing the matter coolly, the lord secretary, far from sharing Chichester's alarm, made light of the pretended invasion, which haunted the latter like a nightmare, and contented himself with insinuating that the pope was a party to the flight, and laying down some well-weighed

admonitions to prevent a recurrence of those mistakes, which, in his judgment, had rendered all former plantations, or, more properly, attempts at extirpation of the native Irish, almost absolute failures.

"*Lord Salisbury to lord deputy Chichester.*

"For conclusion whereof, the judgment that yet hath place in me is rather that these men fled for fear, yet had ever provisional hope, and that you shall hear of no great armies in Ireland whensoever they shall return, but rather of some small forces, peradventure shadowed by the pope, and obscuring Spain, with which they will but sufficiently able to draw the king to an infinite expense, which his enemies will think a very good purchase, though they make account never to see a man of theirs return again. And therefore I do think it of great necessity that those countries be made the king's by this accident; that there be a mixture in the plantation, the natives made his majesty's tenants of part, but the rest to be divided among those that will inhabit; and in no case any man is suffered to embrace more than it is visible he can and will manure. That was an oversight in the plantation of Munster, where twelve thousand acres were commonly alloted to bankrupts and country gentlemen that never knew the disposition of the Irish, so as God forbid that those who have spent their blood in their service should not of all others be preferred," &c.

But there is another narrative of the event on which we have dwelt at such length that may not be overpassed—that left us by sir John Davys, for whose pen it supplied such agreeable matter. The attorney-general knew that the deputy had already written

copiously on the subject, but he conceived, nevertheless, that his own relation was required to color such a remarkable episode. He, indeed, was mainly instrumental in bringing it about; and surely there was no one better qualified to describe and season it for lord Salisbury's palate than himself. It is the last and most circumstantial of all the accounts that have been written of O'Neill's flight from Mellifont to Lough Swilly, and, with the few comments we will make on it, forms a fitting conclusion to this chapter.

"*Sir John Davys to lord Salisbury.*

"My most honorable good lord, — Your lordship hath received advertisement at large from the lord deputy and council of the departure of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel out of this kingdom, which, being an accident extraordinary, I conceive your lordship will accept in good part divers relations thereof, and sundry men's notes and observations thereupon; and I for my part do the rather trouble your lordship with my letters at this time, because this occurrence, if all the circumstances thereof be true, which upon the first report are brought into the state, doth cross my coming over this next term, by interrupting the business wherein I should have been employed.

"For the accident, doubtless, it is true that they are embarked and gone with the most part of that company of men, women, and children, which are named in the proclamation; it is true they took shipping the fourteenth of this present September; that, the Saturday before, the earl of Tyrone was with my lord deputy at Slane, where he had speech with his lordship of his journey into England, told him he would be there about the beginning of Michaelmas term, according to

his majesty's directions; that he took his leave of my lord deputy in a more sad and passionate manner than he used at other times; that from thence he went to Mellifont, sir Garret Moore's house, where he wept abundantly when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because it was not his manner to use such compliments.

"From thence, on Sunday, he went to Dundalk; on Monday he went to Dungannon, where he rested two whole days; on Wednesday night, they say, he travelled all night with his impediments, I mean his women and children; and it is likewise reported that the countess, his wife, being exceeding weary, slipped down from her horse, and, weeping, said she could go no farther; whereupon the earl drew his sword, and swore a great oath that he would kill her in the place, if she would not pass on with him, and put on a more cheerful countenance withal.

"Yet, the next day, when he came near Lough Foyle, his passage that way was not so secret but the governor there had notice thereof, and invited him and his son to dinner; but their haste was such as they accepted not that courtesy, but they went on, and came that Thursday night to Rathmullan, a town on the west side of Lough Swilly, where the earl of Tyrconnel and his company met him.

"There they took some beeves from one Francis Whyte, an Englishman, and killed them for their provision. There the earl of Tyrconnel sent for the foster-father of his brother Caffar O'Donel's son, willing him to bring the child with him. He presently repaired with the child towards the place where the earls lodged; but being met by the way by the baron of Dungannon and Caffar O'Donel himself, they took

the infant violently from him, which terrified the foster-father, so as he escaped by the swiftness of his horse, their horses being tired with travelling.

"Of this child they have a blind and superstitious prophecy,* because he was born with six toes upon one foot; for they affirm that one of their saints of Tyrconnel hath prophesied, that when such a one, being of the sept of O'Donel, shall be born, he shall drive all the Englishmen out of Ireland.

"But now the great question is, whither those travellers have directed their course. The common voice

* Prophecies concerning the Irish chieftains created no little alarm during Queen Elizabeth's reign, when we find sir W. Fitzwilliams, 1593, suggesting that the following should be referred to Daniel, subsequently pseudo-archbishop of Tuam. We have not been able to ascertain what judgment said *Daniel* pronounced upon it:—

"Concerning O'Donel and his country, named Tyrconnel, this is to be noted—First, this young O'Donel, named Hugh Roe, who brake prison from Dublin, and to whom his father, sir Hugh, surrendered the whole country, name, and government, is born of a Scottish woman, James M'Donnell's daughter, a cruel, bloody woman, having in her time committed sundry murders, by whose forward means her son, now O'Donel, assuredly hopeth to be fully assisted out of Scotland, to bring to pass some old-devised prophecy, which flieth amongst them in no small request, importing that when two Hughs lawfully, lineally, and immediately succeed each other as O'Donels, being so formally and ceremoniously created, according to the country's customs, the last Hugh shall forsooth be a monarch in Ireland, and banish thence all foreign nations and conquerors. This prophecy setteth this young O'Donel in great conceit of himself, and doth much allure the people, wedded to such fancies, to flatter, follow, and favor him; the rather because the Romish bishops, glad to take any occasion to further their intended *innovations*, peruade the poor people that this prophecy was first revealed and uttered to and by some most holy saint, whom not to believe were damnable. This should be considered of and presently prevented, lest, such as they are, persons both believed and almost honored as gods be long tolerated and permitted to wander abroad." To this we may add the observation of the nunzio Rinuccini, who says that "the Irish were much given to the folly of prophesying."—"*Alla vanità di predizioni veggo questo popolo molto inclinato.*"—Nunz. in Irlanda, p. 69.

and opinion is that they are gone into Spain. The reasons and presumptions are these :—

"First, sir Cormac M'Baron O'Neill, the earl of Tyrone's brother, brought the first news of their departure, and reported that the earl his brother sent one O'Hagan unto him, who persuaded him to accompany his brother into Spain, but he would not be moved by his persuasion, but presently made his repair to the state, to acquaint my lord deputy with this accident; howbeit it was noted that sir Cormac had his private end in this, for withal he was an earnest suitor to have the custodiam of his brother's country, which, perhaps, might be to his brother's use by agreement betwixt them; and, therefore, for this and other causes of suspicion, the constable of the castle of Dublin hath the *custodiam* of him.

"Next, it is said, that M'Guire, who hath been lately in Spain, came in the ship wherein they are embarked, disguised like a mariner; and that Florence O'Mulconnor, the pope's titulary bishop of Tuam, and a pensioner of Spain, came also in that ship from the coast of Flanders. If this be true, it is to be presumed that these men brought some message out of Spain, whereby the earls are invited to come thither.

"Again, the earl of Tyrconnel hath no licence nor other pretence to go into Scotland or to England, but hath been noted of late for his extreme discontentment, and suspected for some treasonable practices, so as he hath no place to direct his course into but Spain, which doth receive all the discontented persons of this kingdom.

"Again, it is certain that Tyrone, in his heart, doth repine at the English government in his country, where, until his last submission, as well before his rebellion as in the time of his rebellion, he ever lived

like a free prince, or rather like an absolute tyrant there. But now the law of England, and the ministers thereof, were shackles and handlocks unto him, and the garrisons planted in his country were as pricks in his side; besides, to evict any part of that land from him, which he hath heretofore held after the Irish manner, making all the tenants thereof his villeins—though the truth be, that for one moiety of his country, at least, he was either a *disseisor* of the bishops of Armagh and Clogher, or an intruder upon the king's possession; for the Irish lords, in all ages, have preyed more upon land than upon cows, and were *prædones terrarum*, as the poet speaketh of Alexander the Great—this was as grievous unto him as to pinch away the quick flesh from his body.

"Those things, doubtless, have bred discontentment in him; and now his age and his burthened conscience, which no absolution can make altogether clear, have of late much increased his melancholy, so as he was grown very pensive and passionate; and the friars and priests perceiving it, have wrought nightly upon his passion. Therefore it may be he hath hearkened unto some project of treason, which he feareth is discovered; and that fear hath transported him into Spain. For it hath been told my lord deputy, that as he now passed through his country, he said to some of his followers, that if he went into England he should either be perpetual prisoner in the Tower, or else lose his head and his members, meaning, as I take it, he should have the judgment of a traitor; but I verily think the primary and highest cause of his departure to be the *divine justice*, who will not suffer him to go down to his grave in peace, who hath been the cause of so much trouble and bloodshed in this kingdom.

"These are the arguments of their departure into Spain.

"On the other side, others have been of opinion that they are gone into Scotland, for which they make this reason :—

"It hath been confidently reported all this summer that sir Randal M'Sorley, who hath married the earl of Tyrone's daughter, and hath good alliance and acquaintance in Scotland, hath, for the space of four or five months past, been treating with the earl of Argyle for a marriage between the baron of Dungannon and the earl of Argyle's daughter ; that they descended to articles of agreement, which were transmitted to the earl of Tyrone, and he liked well thereof. It was likewise said that the earl of Tyrone intended this summer to see the consummation of the marriage.

"There is not any Irishman in the north that hath not heard of this intended match ; for the common news amongst them was, that Mac O'Neale* should marry the daughter of M'Kallym,† for so the Scottish-Irish call the earl of Argyle. In the meantime the earl of Tyrone is sent for into England to receive order in the cause between him and O'Cahan, or rather betwixt him and the king's majesty, touching the title of O'Cahan's country ; and he is directed by the king's letters to attend at court about the beginning of Michaelmas term. The lord deputy gives him notice of his majesty's pleasure, and willeth him to prepare himself for that journey. Accordingly he levies moneys among his tenants to defray his charges in England ; repaireth to the lord deputy, taketh his leave solemnly, and returneth into Tyrone. From thence, say they, it is likely he resolved to pass into England through Scotland, and to conclude the marriage by the way, because

* The baron of Dungannon.

† M'Callum More—ancient title of the chiefs of the house of Argyle.

he wrote an express letter to his son, which letter is since come to the hands of the lord deputy, willing him to prepare and furnish himself with apparel fit for that occasion. He taketh in his company the earl of Tyrconnel and his brother, both uncles to the baron of Dungannon, and sir Nial Garve O'Donel's wife, his aunt; for O'Donel's sister was mother to the baron. Those, with the countess of Tyrone and the earl of Tyrone's principal followers, are likely persons to be present at the marriage.

"Upon all this matter some have collected a probable presumption that he is gone into Scotland.

"Again, they make arguments concluding negatively that he is not gone into Spain.

"First, because he hath reported often since he was received to grace, that, during his late rebellion, the king of Spain made plain demonstration that he held but a contemptible opinion of him; for, said he, when we expected a royal aid from him, and great store of crowns to supply our wants, the priests and friars that came unto us brought us hallowed beads and poor counterfeit jewels, as if we had been petty Indian kings, that would be pleased with threepenny knives and chains of glass, and the like beggarly presents.

"Again, he hath ever been noted to be subtle, fox-like, and craftily wise in his kind; and, therefore, it were strange that he should quit an earldom and so large and beneficial a territory, for smoke and castles in the air; and that, being possessed of a country quietly, he should leave the possession, to try if he could win it again by force.

"Lastly, he hath carried with him a train of barbarous men, women and children, to the number of fifty or sixty persons. If he means to make them appear like persons of good quality, they will presently spend all

his All-Hallowtide rent, which he hath taken up by way of anticipation; but if he shall carry them through the country in the fashion and habit wherein now they are, doubtless they will be taken for a company of gypsies, and be exceedingly scorned and despised by that proud nation. As for himself, *minuet præsentia famam*, when the formal Spanish courtier shall note his heavy aspect and blunt behavior, so as they will hardly believe he is the same O'Neill which maintained so long a war against the crown of England. Therefore, if he be gone into Spain, the first news we shall hear of him will be either that he is a shorn monk, or dead with extreme grief and melancholy.

"As for the earl of Tyrconnel, he will appear to be so vain a person, as they will scarce give him means to live, if the earl of Tyrone do not countenance and maintain him.

"As for us that are here, we are glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government hath banished Tyrone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe and the expense of two millions of sterling pounds did not bring to pass. And we hope his majesty's happy government will work a greater miracle in this kingdom than ever St. Patrick did; for St. Patrick did only banish the poisonous worms, but suffered the men full of poison to inhabit the land still; but his majesty's blessed genius will banish all those generations of vipers out of it, and make it, ere it be long, a right fortunate island.

"This is my poor and weak conjecture touching this accident, which I humbly submit to your lordship's judgment, and leave your lordship to the divine protection, and remain,

"At your lordship's command most humbly,

"JOHN DAVYS."

The reader can have no difficulty in perceiving that many of the incidents related in the attorney-general's letter are the creations of his own fancy, and that he was altogether ignorant of the means employed to procure the ship. The romance about the earl's threat to kill the countess is an invention, or, in other phrase, an undiluted lie, which Davys knew would create a sensation in London, by showing that O'Neill was capable of committing any sort of murder when need required him to perpetrate it. There is, however, one passage to which we can take no exception—the unwilling testimony to O'Neill's unrivalled genius as soldier and statesman, of which he gave such signal proof during his wars with queen Elizabeth, when he certainly would have destroyed English power in Ireland had he been aided, as Clement VIII. desired, by the cities and towns of the pale. This, indeed, was all he required to complete a conquest; but, as we have already said, the irresoluteness of his countrymen, and their want of union, baffled all his schemes, as they would have done those of any other great leader circumstanced as he was. Even to this day the Irish people have not learned the truth of the adage which says that "the *I* and *you*" are irreconcilable; but, in good time, reflection and education will teach them that nothing permanently good can be effected for their country without the concord of all parties. Another passage of Davys' despatch shows how he regarded the native Irish, and with what infernal delight he looked forward to the time when they were to be swept off the land to make place for aliens, as though God had not intended that they should be the natural proprietry of it, consuming its aliments, and clothing themselves with the produce of its flocks. As we shall see in the sequel, the attorney-general had already matured a

scheme for extirpating the Celts, somewhat analogous to that adopted by proprietors of his way of thinking in our own time, when the scandal of evictions has made Irish landlordism in some counties a by-word to the universe. In Davys' estimation, the native Irish had no parallel except in the Pharisees, whom, although he denounced their impiety, the Saviour would not deprive of a single acre of their rightful inheritance. How many, like Davys, at the present moment, quote Sacred Writ to justify their inhuman conduct—how many, like him, look on the Irish tillers of the soil as a "serpent's brood," closing their eyes to the fact that human nature unhappily is too prone to keep a stern account of oppression and injustices!—and yet, notwithstanding the callous rant of this same official, his encomium of an Irishman's love of justice has been quoted over and over again by public speakers, never suspecting that it was a consummate piece of irony, or, as sir John himself would term it—rhetoric.

CHAPTER V.

MEANWHILE O'Neill, O'Donel, and their followers, were enjoying a splendid ovation in Belgium, feasting with the archduke's principal officers, burgomeisters, ecclesiastical and other dignitaries, who regarded them as exiles for their faith, and victims of the cruellest tyranny. Antwerp, Malines, and other great towns received them with all the consideration due to their rank and misfortunes. In the former city there was a college for the education of Irish aspirants to the priesthood, and the fugitive nobles were welcomed there with formalities like those shown to them in Douay. Indeed, wherever there was an Irish seminary or conventual establishment, alumni and superiors vied with each other in congratulating the "illustrious princes," for such was the designation by which they were recognized in Belgium, Italy, and all over the continent. Palaces, museums, and studios of art were everywhere thrown open to them; and wherever there was a holy shrine there were the banished princes to be seen comporting themselves as beseemed true and edifying sons of the apostolic see. Many of the Belgian churches which O'Neill and O'Donel visited, had been sacrilegiously violated by the English allies of the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, during queen Elizabeth's reign—that of Malines

especially, by general Norris; and we can well conceive how O'Neill must have felt within those sacred precincts, when he called to mind that he defeated and mortally wounded that very Norris, under the walls of Armagh, eleven years previously.* Good reason, indeed, had the devoted Catholics of Belgium, the humblest as well as the most nobly born, to show sympathy to the great Irish chief, whose sword avenged their desecrated altars.

But the announcement of their arrival in France created the greatest excitement at the court of king James, who, on learning that Henry IV. had given them passports through his dominions, despite the remonstrances of the British ambassador, vented his vexation by asserting that the French monarch acted thus in deference to the pope. To this, Monsieur de la Boderie, the French ambassador, replied, that the king, his master, had declared France to be an open country, and that *he* believed that they—the Irish exiles—had retired out of their own land "for matter of religion, and for hard measures in point of their inheritance." Indeed, Monsieur de la Boderie informs us, that long before the Irish fugitives set foot on the continent, king James, fancying that they had landed in Spain, could not conceal his vexation at the reception which he supposed they had got there. The incident is a curious one, and we will let the ambassador relate it:—"About the close of September, Monsieur de la Boderie being confined to his chamber, king James sent one of his gentlemen to visit him. After some conversation on indifferent topics, the gentleman alluded to the earl of Tyrone's escape, and said that the latter had been well received in Spain. This, con-

* Mitchel's Hugh O'Neill and O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. Hib.

tinued the gentleman, has made the king, my master, very indignant; so much so, that his majesty declared that if there should be any attempt in Ireland, he will never put off his harness till he has taught the Spaniard that he can do him more harm than he imagines." The royal petulance amused Boderie, who further informs us, that if Tyrone had come to London, it was the king's determination to commit him to the Tower, and, perhaps, behead him.*

James, however, when undeceived about the landing in Spain, was, if possible, still more exasperated at learning how the Irish nobles had been received by the archdukes, feted by Spinola, and provided for at Louvain, till they should determine in what place they meant to fix their final abode; and that nothing might be wanting to fill the measure of his vexation, some courtier, supposed to be well-informed on such matters, assured him that Philip III. had already settled pensions on O'Neill, O'Donel, Maguire, and the most distinguished of their followers—and this at a moment when the Spanish dockyards were crowded with a fleet, the destination of which was unknown. The excitement in London, says Boderie, was very great; and in every street drums were beating for recruits, and large detachments were sent off with all possible haste to reinforce the Irish garrisons, in order to meet the emergency should the king of Spain, send his ships there with the fugitive nobles.†

Flouted by Henry IV., the king of Spain and the archdukes, James lost no time in instructing Cornwallis, his ambassador at the court of Madrid, to see that Philip III. was made aware of the *true* character of the

* "*De le mettre a la Tour, et de l'y làisser croupir.*"—Ambassades en Angleterre de M. de la Boderie..

† Ibid.

Irish fugitives, whom it was the ambassador's duty to represent in the falsest colors, as runaways, nowise deserving sympathy or sustentation. Cornwallis did as he was ordered, and doubtless with that zeal and veracity which might be expected from one in his position. Twenty-four days precisely after the fugitives landed at Quillebœuf, the ambassador had audience of Philip's secretary, and then he despatched the following account of his conference with that functionary :—

Sir Charles Cornwallis to lord Salisbury.

Madrid, 28th October, 1607.

[After mentioning some matters irrelevant to our subject, Cornwallis introduces the question of the Irish fugitives thus :—]

"I then told him that hereunto they had a fit opportunity and occasion given them, by the late sudden and strange departure of the earl of Tyrone and others out of the north part of Ireland, with intention to come hither ; who although out of an evil purpose they had brought forth a good effect, yet can it not be presumed but those parties, having received from his majesty there so many great graces, not only in pardoning their former rebellions and treasons, but in lading them with dignities, and giving them that which few or none of the king's ancestors have ever conferred upon any of that nation, which was an *absolute and in a manner unlimited government in their own countries*, nothing wanting to their ambitions but the name of kings, and neither crossed in any thing concerning their civil government, nor so much as in act or imagination (whereof upon his honor and faith he assured me) molested, or in any sort questioned with, for their consciences and religion, would in such a sort

leave their countries, *had they not been drawn hither by large promises, in hope of serving some future turns.*

"*The duke*, to hear this, showed much impatience, offering once or twice in my speech to have interrupted me; but in the end, laying his hand on his breast, with an oath, said that of the departure and intention of the earls there was here no more knowledge given to the king himself, or any of this state, than was to me.

"That in generality the king and they had tasted here, to the much consumption of his treasure, what it was to entertain strangers, that from all parts make their repair hither; *that in particularity they had had a bitter taste of those that had come from his majesty's dominions, and should in a larger measure, if they had not made a resolute and determinate stop to the running of that fountain, and refused to give ear to many overtures, that since the peace concluded with his majesty* (*he assured upon his honor and cross of his habit*) *had been made unto them;* concluding with a wish that those Irish had come hither, that, by the usage of them, the king, my master, might have received a more large and ample assurance what he may promise to himself of the king his sovereign's sincere and true intentions.

"To this I replied that I rejoiced much to hear him, whom I acknowledge so truly noble as I could not but believe him, that this state had no participation with that frantic and foul purpose; and that I now would conclude with myself that the same proceeded only from the Jesuits of that nation or of ours that are here in this court, whose malice is so extreme and unlimited, as it leads both them and those that are so unfortunate to believe them into all violent and precipitous actions. I desired his excellency would give me

leave to represent unto him, not the undutifulness and disobedience of such their flight, but the madness and inconsideration of their purpose. They departed their country without any occasion earthly of distaste or offence given them by their sovereign, and only, as it seems, upon a presumption to be received and entertained here, and to be used in evil purposes against their lawful and natural king and his government; not considering that so wise a council as that of Spain could not be ignorant how much their case differs now from that which it was in time of the late queen.

"The queen then used none other against them in their revolts and rebellions than her own subjects of *England;* who, not accustomed either to the diet of that savage country, or to the bogs and other retreats which that wild people used, endured by those means the greater difficulties. Besides, there were in those times many of the same disposition in other provinces, who much distracted and impedimented the queen's designs and proceedings against them.

"It is now much otherwise, for the king, my master, being possessed of *Scotland*, hath in that country, near adjoining to the north part of *Ireland*, a people of their own fashion, diet, and disposition, that can walk their bogs as well as themselves, live with their food, and are so well practised and accustomed in their own country to the like, as they are as apt to pull them out of their dens and withdrawing places, as ferrets are to draw rabbits out of their burrows.

"Moreover, all other parts of *Ireland* are now reduced to such obedience and so civil a course, and so well planted with a mixture of *English*, as there is not a man that shows a forehead likely to give a frown against his majesty or his government.

"Neither do I make doubt but *our fugitives here*,

following the general disposition which all stories do witness to accompany men of that condition, which is, by all means possible to incite and plunge into peril foreign princes and states for executing of their own malicious and unnatural purposes against their countries, have labored of late, with all the art they can, to extenuate the power and forces of the king, my sovereign, thereby to make the passage more easy to a breach of peace and amity between our nations. They have upon that subject opened their mouths so wide, as it hath come to my ears that they publish the king, my master, by reason of his large gifts since his coming to the crown, to be without treasure or means either to invade others or defend himself; that his people are universally discontented; and that the number of Catholics that groan under the burthen of his late severe laws, and would gladly deliver themselves from his government, are infinite.

"I confessed it to be true, that amongst other the incomparable virtues of the king, my master, *liberality* and *magnificence* were not the least; *that he had given largely, but upon a good exchange; for he had sowed money, that of itself can do nothing, and had reaped hearts, that can do all.*

"That the greatest and only discontent of his people groweth out of want of occupation of the wars and sea services wherein they had so long been exercised, and out of envy of other men's fortunes, which were they in that sort set on work, would as easily vanish, as unjustly and without true ground of reason it entered into them.

"Lastly, for the number of the groaning Catholics, I assured him that, of my own knowledge, who could not be ignorant of that sort of people, in regard I had *a father*, and have yet divers of my kindred of that affec-

tion, I durst assure him that there were in *England* and *Scotland hardly as many hundred as our fugitives reckon thousands;* and those, also, so unable either to attempt, or so much as assist any foreign force, and the most of them so alienated from that humor, as it seems half a miracle unto me that, upon so wise and understanding an estate, they dare adventure to obtrude untruths so improbable.

"This *the duke* heard with great attention, and upon my conclusion grew into more plainness with me than ever, *protesting that he joined with me in opinion that those fugitives were dangerous people; that our Jesuits were turbulent and busy men, naming one for such unto me, which at his hands I little expected.* Said that he would not for much but he had seen certain papers of mine of late, and had this conference with me now.

"Told me *that he had much to say to me, but was not yet ripe for me, but would as shortly as he could;* and in meantime assured me, as he was a *cavallero*, his majesty and his council had fully determined never to receive nor hear any more of *these straying people;* that they had found the inconvenience, with the great charge and care put upon them, how to deliver themselves from those *Irish vagabonds*, and continual begging pretenders. They would now and had already stopped the current; neither should any of his majesty's subjects here have henceforth entertainment, except they came recommended from his majesty."

Cornwallis' report of what passed between him and the Spanish prime minister, was in great measure wholly untrue; for we are to bear in mind that it was then, and may be so still, the duty of one in his place to stick at no falsehood, when the character and in-

terests of his sovereign were at stake. A great authority on this point, sir Henry Wotton, afterwards ambassador at Venice, warrants us in making such assertion; for he tells us that an ambassador is one sent to foreign courts to invent lies for his country's good—"*Legatus est vir bonus peregre missus ad dicendum mendacia reipublicæ causa.*" The letter, nevertheless, does contain sundry statements which Cornwallis doubtless did make, and garnish with wicked ingenuity, those, namely, that were calculated to lower the character of the Irish people—of Ulster especially—in the estimation of the polished and stately Spanish minister. We may presume withal that the latter discredited them; for there were then in Spain a great number of Irish, occupying the most distinguished position, in the Church, court, and army, who were as highly civilized as the natives of Spain itself, or any other country under heaven. But, as we have already said, it was part of the ambassador's duty to ventilate lies, and he did so *secundum normam* —as his calling required. We may also observe, that he seems to have been well acquainted with king James' determination to extirpate the natives of Ulster, and plant in their stead colonists from Scotland, who were to treat the former as the sportsman does the savage beast and noxious vermin. This, indeed, was a truth that might not be gainsaid; and we can readily conceive what impression such a cruel programme must have made on the mind of the Spaniard, and what little value he attached to the ambassador's exaggeration of his king's clemency and paternal heart.

The king, however, although he had every confidence in the ability and ingenuity of his ambassador at the court of Madrid, resolved to issue, under his own hand, a document which he flattered himself would not only save Ireland from a second Spanish invasion, but would so

confound the fugitives, that no one after reading it would condescend to relieve or harbor them. No one, surely, could question the word of a king, seeing that he could do no wrong, or state aught that was not truth itself! His majesty, therefore, influenced by this falsest of all delusions, had recourse to his favorite weapon, the pen, and drew up, in English and inflated Latin, a proclamation, which he ordered his ambassadors to publish, wherever they could conveniently do so, in the cities and towns of the Continent. This was to be the *coup de grace* to O'Neill, O'Donel, and the rest. Thenceforth the world was to hear no more of them or their pretended wrongs, but, on the contrary, admire the sagacity of a monarch, whose keen eye could penetrate even the very *consciences* of his ungrateful subjects. In order, however, that nothing might be overlooked that could tend to procure a favorable hearing for the royal manifesto, he instructed lord secretary Salisbury to write to Cornwallis, laying down certain rules by which the latter was to be guided in relation to this momentous document.

"*Earl of Salisbury to sir Charles Cornwallis.*

"27th October, 1607.

"Concerning those men that are fled into Spain, his majesty hath commanded me to give you some directions how you are to proceed; wherein, as things do now stand, you are to be as well curious in the formality as in the substance. The truth is, therefore, briefly, that they are in the case you see by the proclamation, of which you need not make dainty to take notice neither to the king nor to themselves; but because his majesty would not have you set a value upon their worth, by making their flight any matter of consequence to any

other body but to themselves, he would have you proceed in this sort.

"First, upon this letter, which toucheth the matter of injustice to the king's subjects, you shall do well to make your access; and when you shall have therein spent the best part of your audience, if the king shall say nothing to you of those men, then his majesty would have you *obiter*, even as if you scarce had it in premeditation, say to the king, that although you have not now anything in particular to propound unto him concerning those *Irish fugitives* by any new commission, yet because his majesty, in a late despatch, even in the postscript of a letter only, spake something shortly of it, you cannot forbear the rather upon this occasion to say something to his majesty of it, by virtue of your general commission; whereof the extent is such, as it doth ever warrant you to proceed in all things incident to the amity, even *in re nata*, and so declare both what the king wrote, and what you must presume to speak unto him as well out of your affection as out of your duty.

"For the words of the king's letter, you may say they were to none other effect than this: that his deputy of Ireland had advertised him that some of the northern earls, and some others out of those *barbarous* quarters of Ulster, were gone into Spain; of whose proceedings, though he held the parties too *contemptible* to make any reckoning, yet he thought the accident would furnish you with some matter to write concerning the carriage of the king, his brother; and so from thence upon occasion to tell him, that although, in respect of themselves, whatsoever doth concern them is contemptible, yet you do hope that will minister to his majesty there so excellent a subject to requite the king your master's sincerity with demonstration of his integrity in this

proceeding towards them, as it may prove a good effect of an ill cause; wherein you may say you will not presume to make any particular proposition, but only attend the work of his majesty's own judgment and affection, both because it is the general cause of all princes, and in this will be more curiously observed how his majesty disposeth himself, considering what hath passed between those two crowns.

"Only this you may say shall be your suit, that his majesty would give you some matter worthy the king your master's knowledge upon this so extraordinary an occasion, to whom you know it will be more acceptable to receive a good office arising from the strength of his own original affection, than a far greater upon any particular proposition.

"This is as far as you shall need to enlarge yourself at the first access, except some cause come from him, wherein you may use your accustomed discretion.

"Because you may not apprehend this matter worse than there is cause, nor make any show of alteration—what insolencies soever the Jesuits and pack of fugitives do there put on—I do confidently affirm it unto you, that in human judgment the end thereof cannot but be good. For although it is true that we do know this remnant of the *northern Irish traitors* to have been as full of malice as flesh and blood could be, and noway reformed by the grace they have received, but rather sucking poison out of the honey thereof; yet because his majesty had given them pardon, and could not *demonstrably* prove new treasons against them so clearly *in foro judicii*, as they might have not suspected to *savor of rigor*, yet, *in foro conscientiæ*, his majesty hath known they have absolutely given commission to their priests and others to undertake for them a resolution to abandon their sovereign if they might be entertained,

not sticking to avow their alienation* of heart from the English government.

"In which strait, as long as the king found himself, who loveth to come last out of the gate of mercy, *he suffered adders in his bosom, and gave them means to gather strength to his own prejudice;* where now the whole country which they possess will be made of great use, both for strength and profit to him.

"Those poor creatures who knew no kings but *those petty lords*, under the burthen of whose tyranny they have ever groaned, do now, with great applause, desire to be protected by the immediate power, and to receive correction only from himself. So as if the council of Spain shall conceive that they have now some great advantage over this state, where it shall appear what a party their king may have if he shall like to support it, there may be this answer: that *those Irish, without the king of Spain, are poor worms upon earth;* and that when the king of Spain shall think it time to begin with Ireland, the king, my master, is more like than ever queen Elizabeth was to find a wholesomer place of the king of Spain's where he would be loath to hear of the English, and to show the Spaniards that shall be sent into Ireland as *fair* a way as they were taught before. In which time, the more you speak of the *base, insulting, discoursing fugitives*, the more proper it will be for you.

"In the meantime, upon their departure, not a man hath moved neither way there this thirty years more universal obedience than there is now. Amongst the rest of their *barbarous lies*, I doubt not but they will pretend *protection for religion, and breach of promise with them;* wherein you may safely protest this, that

* See Appendix.

for any of all these that are gone, there never was so much as an offer made to search their consciences. Some little stain the late president of Munster, sir Henry Broncarde, who died some few months since, used upon towns, by imposing fines upon some that refused to come to him being sent for, and not simply for not going to church. This I do but touch, because I doubt not but they will disperse slanders enough, which I would willingly you should well provide to answer."

Such were the instructions forwarded to James' ambassador at Madrid, by way of preamble to the proclamation that was soon to reach him. On comparing both documents, the reader will perceive that they were in perfect harmony with one another—tissues of lies and unblushing calumnies. Reckless, however, and malignant as they were, Salisbury was not able to substantiate the charges of treason assigned as the cause of the flight, but would have us believe that the king's conscience—although no one believed his majesty possessed one—was unquestionable evidence of their guilt! The vaporing about the power of England at that period, if indeed, Cornwallis had the boldness even to allude to it, must have amused the Spanish king; for although he was not so mighty as his predecessor, Philip II., he could well afford to treat such threats with scorn. Meanwhile, the proclamation itself found him at his post, and we may presume that he lost no time in exhibiting it to all those who he fancied would be influenced by its mendacious contents.

"*Proclamation touching the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel.*

"Seeing it is common and natural in all persons, of what condition soever, to speak and judge variably of all new and sudden accidents, and that the flight of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with some others of their fellows, out of the north parts of our realm of Ireland, may haply prove a subject of like discourse; we have thought it not amiss to deliver some such matter in public as may better clear men's judgments concerning the same, not in respect of any worth or value in these men's persons, being *base and rude* in their original, but to take away all such inconveniences as may blemish the reputation of that friendship which ought to be mutually observed between us and other princes.

"For although it is not unlikely the report of their titles and dignities may draw from princes and states some such courtesies, at their first coming abroad, as are incident to men of extraordinary rank and quality; yet, when we have taken the best means we can to lay them open in every condition, we shall then expect from our friends and neighbors all such just and noble proceedings as stand with the rules of honor and friendship, and from our subjects, at home and abroad, that duty of obedience, in their carriage toward them, which they owe to us by inseparable bonds and obligations of nature and loyalty, whereof we intend to take strait account.

"For which purpose we do hereby, first, declare that these persons above-mentioned had not their creation or possessions in regard of any lineal or lawful descent from ancestors of blood or virtue, but were only pre-

ferred by the late queen, our sister, of famous memory, and by ourselves, for some reasons of state, before others, who, for their quality and birth in these provinces where they dwell, might better have challenged those honors which were conferred upon them.

"Secondly, we do profess that it is both known to us and our council here, and to our deputy and state there, and so shall it appear to the world, as clear as the sun, by evident proofs, that the only ground and motive of this high contempt in these men's departure, hath been the private knowledge and *inward terror* of their own guiltiness. Whereof because we hear that they do seek to take away the blot and infamy by divulging that they have withdrawn themselves for matter of religion —a cloak that serves too much in these days to cover many evil intentions—adding also thereunto some other vain pretexts of receiving injustice when their rights and claims have come in question between them and us, or any of our subjects and them, we think it not impertinent to say somewhat thereof.

"And, therefore, although we judge it needless to seek for many arguments to confirm whatsoever shall be said of these men's corruption and falsehood, whose heinous offences remain so fresh in memory, since they declared themselves so very monsters in nature, as they did not only withdraw themselves from their personal obedience to their sovereign, but were content to sell over their native country to those that stood at that time in the highest terms of hostility with the two crowns of England and Ireland; yet, to make the absurdity and ingratitude of the allegation above mentioned so much the more clear to all men of equal judgment, we do hereby profess, in the word of a king, that there was never so much as any shadow of molestation nor purpose of proceeding in any degree against

them for matter concerning religion, such being their condition and profession, *to think murder no fault, marriage of no use, nor any man worthy to be esteemed valiant that did not glory in rapine and oppression;* as we should have thought it an unreasonable thing to trouble them for any different point in religion, before any man could perceive by their conversation that they made truly conscience of any religion.

"So we do also, for the second part of their excuse, affirm, that notwithstanding all that they can claim must be acknowledged to proceed from mere grace upon their submission after their great and unnatural treasons, there hath never come any question concerning their rights or possessions wherein we have not been more inclinable to do them favor than to any of their competitors, except in those cases wherein we have plainly discerned that their only end was to have made themselves by degrees more able than now they are to resist all lawful authority, when they should return to their vomit again, by usurping a power over other good subjects of ours that dwell among them, better born than they, and utterly disclaiming from any dependency upon them.

"Having now delivered thus much concerning these men's estates and their proceedings, we will only end with this conclusion, that they shall not be able to deny, whensoever they should dare to present themselves before the seat of justice, that they have, before their running out of our kingdom, not only entered into combination for stirring sedition and intestine rebellion, but have directed divers instruments, as well priests as others, to make offers to foreign states and princes, if they had been as ready to receive them, of their readiness and resolution to adhere to them whensoever they

would seek to invade that kingdom, wherein amongst other things this is not to be forgotten.

"That under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved to comprehend the better extirpation of all those subjects that are now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended from the English race. In which practices and propositions, followed and fermented by priests and Jesuits, of whose function in these times the practice and persuasion of subjects to rebel against their sovereign is one special and essential part and portion, as they have found no such encouragement as they expected and have boasted of, so we do assure ourselves that when this declaration shall be seen and duly weighed with all due circumstances, it will be of force sufficient to disperse and to discredit all such untruths as these *contemptible creatures*, so full of infidelity and ingratitude, shall disgorge against us and our just and moderate proceeding, and shall procure unto them no better usage than they would wish should be afforded to any such pack of rebels, born their subjects, and bound unto them in so many and so great obligations.

"Given at our palace of Westminster, the 15th day of November, in the 5th year of our reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Anno Domini 1607."

It is almost superfluous to offer any remarks on this document, since the reader is already aware of the publication of the Act of Uniformity, and the proclamation of 1605, disallowing that dearest and most indefeasible of all rights—freedom of conscience. Need we repeat that the king and his hypocritical subordinates had banished, as far as they could do it, the clergy of the people, and commanded the latter, at

their peril, to present themselves in the polluted cathedrals and churches, where an alien priesthood and a pseudo-hierarchy taught doctrines unknown to Christendom till the days of Luther and the monster Henry VIII.? The imputation of base birth and pretended immorality of the fugitive earls and their followers, was literally valueless; for, in point of genealogy, they were as illustrious as James himself, while their unconquerable attachment to a religion which enforced strictest observance of the divine law, was an irrefragable proof that they were not what this profligate king dared to represent them. None but himself could have presumed to make such charges, for it was then known to the civilized world that he was addicted to crimes at which "the cities of the plain might blush and tremble;" and that the orgies of his court, graphically depicted by queen Elizabeth's godson,* shocked even those who shared his revels. This attempt to vilify and disparage the exiles in the estimation of the continental princes, failed signally; and we need hardly add that James never fulfilled his promise to prove that O'Neill and O'Donel fled because they were involved in a conspiracy, or, as he phrases it, on account of "the *inward terror of their own guiltiness.*"

But while this mendacious proclamation was making the tour of the Continent, and James' ambassadors were ventilating their calumnies from Brussels to Madrid, and thence to Venice, O'Neill, O'Donel, and Maguire were more than consoled by letters from Rome, congratulating them on their providential escape from the toils that were spread for them by a crowned pedant and his Irish proconsul. It is easy to imagine with what delight they must have been filled when they

* See sir John Harington's Nugæ Antiquæ.

learned that Paul V. sympathised with them, and was prepared to give them shelter in the Eternal City ; for although every other shut its gate in their faces, Rome was still the sanctuary and home, where the landless and persecuted could find refuge, repose, and protection. Good reason, indeed, had they to lament those ancient territories, where their forefathers, for generations, ruled as sovereign princes, the fields where their childhood was spent, and where, in maturer years, they gave such undoubted proofs of valor, fighting the battle of faith and country, almost single-handed, against one of the most powerful monarchies in the world ; but lament as they might the loss of all they held dearest, they had comfort in the assurance that the father of the faithful was willing to give them cordial welcome, what day soever they crossed the threshold of the Vatican.

Reverting to the panic created in London by the news of the departure of the fugitives, we may not omit to mention that the king, being sorely straitened for money, applied to Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, to help him in his need. It was only fair that the supreme head of Protestantism should expect consideration at the hands of one of his wealthiest prelates, and we need hardly observe that Bancroft felt it his duty to aid his sovereign at such a crisis. The archbishop, indeed, had it been in his power, would have sent a powerful army to Ireland at his own proper charge ; but as he could not do that, he carried out the king's wishes by levying contributions off sundry of his richest clergy, each of whom, doubtless, looked on every stalwart cavalier destined for Ireland as an evangelist, helmeted and breastplated to spread the faith in that benighted region. Proclamations against freedom of conscience, and penalties inflicted on recusants for not attending the services of the reformed religion, made no converts ;

but who could tell what that last argument of kings—the sword—might not be able to effect among a people so desperately devoted to the See of Rome? Such, we may presume, may have been king James' forecastings while penning the subjoined to his grace of Canterbury :—

"*To the archbishop of Canterbury.*

"Most Reverend Father in God,—It is not unknown, ere this time, to the most of our subjects, by common report, that the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and some others our subjects of good quality* in our realm of Ireland, are fled from our obedience into foreign parts, being all of them persons who having been, in the time of the late queen, of famous memory, in actual rebellion, to the great trouble of that state and this, were, notwithstanding, at our succession to this crown, upon their submissions, for the quietness of our people, not only pardoned of their grievous offences, but also heaped with many favors; yet the ingratitude and disloyalty of their natural dispositions being inveterate in them, hath prevailed so far above all benefits, as they have not wanted good will to have broken out into as dangerous rebellion, and to throw our realm into as great tumult and confusion as in our late sister's time they did, if they had found in foreign princes as much readiness to support them as they had of malicious disposition to enter into open acts of disloyalty; which being, by the vigilancy of our ministers, discovered, they, out of the guilt of their own consciences, fearing the punishment due to them, have fled into places out of our obedience, where though, we hope, they shall little prevail with any

* This contradicts the assertion made by the king in his proclamation about base birth, rudeness, &c.

princes in amity with us, to give aid or countenance to their purposes. Yet providence and care to preserve the quiet of our people requiring at our hands to see our garrisons and company, here entertained, to be so reinforced and increased as may assure the safety of our good and loyal subjects against all disturbances of those which are not well affected, for which purpose we have resolved, as you know, to levy the number of one hundred horse, to be sent into that realm, whereof twenty to be taken upon such persons of the clergy of your province of Canterbury as to you shall be known to be of best ability to bear the charge, not doubting but to find in them as much forwardness and good will to ease us in public charge as they showed to the late queen, seeing we have deserved no less at their hands. Wherefore we require you to make choice, within your province, of twenty persons meet to be taxed with that charge, and to signify our pleasure unto them; and for that it may be that they are not furnished of horse and armor in such sort as is fit for this service, it shall suffice that they deliver the sum of £25 towards all the charges thereof, the same to be delivered to ——— at or before the ——— day of ——— next coming, which we have taken order shall be disposed for the provision of horse and common and other furniture for that service. And we do expect that herein they will not fail for the respect we know they bear to the furtherance of our service."

It was in the interval of their sojourn at Louvain, that the Irish nobles received the letters to which we have already alluded; and we need hardly say that such indubitable proofs of sympathy must have consoled them for the unmerited insults and outrageous slanders unscrupulously blazoned in the king's proclamation. This

interesting correspondence, never published till now, shows that O'Neill and O'Donel had friends when they needed them most—true friends, indeed; for who had better reason to be such than the hierarchs and priests of that religion for which they made willing sacrifice of all that men prize most—hearths and homes, with their endearing associations.

The first of these letters, which wants the superscription, seems from its purport to have been addressed to some professor in the Irish College of Douay; and we can easily conceive with what delight he hastened to Louvain, to read it for those whom it mentions with so much warmth.

"Yours from the 20th of October I received the 8th of November, and at the reading truly I could not refrain myself from weeping, to hear those lords so banished; but, on the other part, that I did recreate and comfort in that they escaped the bloody and tyrannous hands of their enemies, which sought their utter overthrow. Presently I showed the letter to my lord primate, who forthwith went to his Holiness, and advertised the same of all, who knew well the matter before; and when the lord primate told that they should have been taken otherwise, the pope answered that they should not only have been taken, but also lost their heads. His Holiness is most glad of their safe arrival, and my lord primate most ready to employ himself and all his endeavors for them, if they did pass this way for Spain.

"It had been most honorable and profitable for our country, for they should be as well accepted and welcome hither as any princes that came these many years to this court; but it were good their coming should not be made known, but only to their friends. If they be

resolved to come this way, let us know it long before, for his Holiness will cause them to be well accepted, both in the ecclesiastical dominions, and also by other princes in Italy, and also his Holiness, I hope, will help them well to their purpose. I do not write unto any of them at this present, but I pray your reverence to salute them and bid them welcome in my name; and seeing I have no more but myself, I do offer mine own service to them during life, for truly there is no danger nor travail that could interrupt me from their service, and therefore let them employ me as they will. If they come to Italy, I do think it most fit that your reverence, in the name of themselves, do require my lord primate to send me to meet them to Milan or Bolonia, that before they come hither they should the more know of the state and circumstances of matters here. You wished me in your last letter not to remove here hence until you did further advertise me, the which I will do, but I pray advertise me as soon as you may, for I have no means to continue here any further. I know well there is no place in the world where our country hath more need to have one trusty man to deal in the matters of the country than this place, and if I could get any maintenance, I would be contented to stay here until those lords hath need of me elsewhere; but there is nothing that can keep me from serving them, for to serve them in their actions I hold for certain is not to serve men, but rather to serve God Almighty and the Catholic Roman Church. I will stay until your reverence do advertise me further, and, in the meantime, commend me most heartily unto those noble men.

"The general is come, and as for such things you committed to me, you shall hear further by the next. Indulgence for your college I will procure for St. Patrick's, St. Malachias, and St. Brigida, and for the

rest of your business I do faithfully promise that solicitation and diligence *quantum in me est* will not fail. I do most heartily commend me unto Matthew Tullie,* unto whom all our country is bound for ever for this his attempt. God keep these lords, and direct them in all their actions, to the glory of his divine majesty, increase of the Catholic Church, and salvation of their own souls; for the which we all here will not cease to pray. Thus, with my most hearty commendations to my lord Henry, both the doctors, F. Cusack and Fran. Huge, I rest.

"Rome, the 10th of November, 1607.

"Yours at command,

"DANIEL O'CARROL."

The second was from the archbishop of Armagh; and the chivalrous Cuconnaught, to whom it was addressed, must have rejoiced while he perused the felicitations bestowed on him by the exiled successor of the apostle of Ireland.

"*The archbishop of Armagh to the lord Macguyre.*

"Honorable lord,—Your dexteritie and industrye in compassing so worthye a worcke as to bring out of eminent danger such a noble companye as I understand to be saulfye landed in France, and are now, I trust, come to Flanders, as it is acceptable to God, gratefull to all good men, soe I trust, that by the omnipotent God, whoe hetherto hath soe prosperouslye directed the same, it is ordained for the great good of our afflicted countrye and nation. In which respect I doe most hartlye thank you for the same, and doe offer my searvice,

* O'Donel's Secretary.

whear I shall be able either here or elsewhear to further your goodlye interprises and indevors. Whearwith commending you to the tuicion of God, I end with most hartye commendations. Rome, this 10th of November, a° 1607.

"Your assured friend and seruant in Christ,

"PETER LOMBARD,

"Archbyshoppe of Ardmach, Primate of Ireland.

"To my lord Macguyre."

The third, from the same hand, was addressed to Rory O'Donel; and the reader will observe that the primate styles him after the Gaelic fashion, and not according to his English title. Ah, how his heart must have throbbed as he read the pathetic allusion to his brave brother, Red Hugh, then sleeping his last sleep in the cloister of the Franciscan convent of Valladolid!

The primate archbishop of Armagh to the lord O'Donel.

"Right honorable lord,—Althoughe knowing th' extremitye of the calamities in our afflicted countrye to be such as your honor, your brother, your sister, your little babye, whom God, together with you all blesse, hath been driuen for your securitie to come awaye, I find myself much greved and afflicted, yett understanding of your saulf arrivall, which, by this I trust, is in the cuntryes of your surest friendes and furtherers, and hoping that God Almightie of his goodness will turne this your dangerous iourney and great travailes to the great good of the said oppressed cuntrye, I doe hereby receave some comfort and solace.

"By your honorable brother a worthye enterprise

was begonne for the maintening and restoring of the Catholicke religion, who, being receaved to eternall glorye, whear his prayers are of greater efficacye with the Lord of heaven than his forces were vppon the earth, I trust th' accomplishing of the said enterprise is researued and appointed for you by the grace of God. Wherein offering my seruice boath here and else whersoeuer, I end comending you and your companye to God his protection, with my comendations to them all.

"Rome, this 10th of Novembre, 1607.

"Your assured friend and seruant in Christ,

"PETER LOMBARD,

"Archbysshoppe of Ardmach, primate of Ireland."

"To my L. O'Donel."

But by far the amplest and most acceptable of all, was that which primate Lombard directed to father Florence Conry; for it gave the exiled nobles indubitable assurance that a home awaited them the moment they passed the Flaminian gate.

"*The archbishop of Armagh to father Florence Conry.*

"Right reverend father,—Your letter, written the 20th of October, I could not read without tears; which, partly sorrow, partly joy, provoked—sorrow, considering the calamities of our afflicted country, come to that height and weight, that such noble peers and pillars, whereby so many were sustained, are forced to fly there hence for the safety of their lives; joy, receiving so good tidings as that they, being driven in such sort

to shift for themselves, are arrived safely upon Catholic ground, for the which God be thanked and glorified.

"Presently, upon the receipt of the letter, I went to impart the news unto his Holiness, who told me he received them before, as I think, out of France, and communicated more unto me than they contained, partly of the danger wherein my lord O'Neill, and, consequently, his company stood, and partly of the honorable usage showed by the French king in keeping them harmless since they landed upon his ground.

"His Holiness, I doubt not, will show all fatherly favor and furtherance towards them in all occasions pretended or to be presented; whereof, therefore, I wish to be advertised, that I may serve them to my possibility, which to do I am so ready and resolute, that if it may stand them to stead, I myself do accompany them wheresoever they go; they may command it.

"Touching my nephew, as I wrote before, in answering another letter of yours, so do I now repeat, it is not expedient by any means he come thither. I understood he was brought hither with intention that he should teach a course of philosophy, wherein, if he were employed, or be yet, I think it shall be a good mean to quiet and settle him. He wisheth to have a dispensation to be priested, being otherwise within age; but I doubt whether your order hath not a privilege to present of that age wherein he is. And, therefore, I wish hereof to be advertised by your reverence, and to know your judgment in this matter, that according thereunto it may be disposed.

"All letters that shall be sent unto me, touching these noble men come over, must be carefully and warefully delivered, and such care and wariness used in

reclaiming my letters. The which, together with my self, I commend unto you.

"Rome, this 10th of November, 1607.

"Your reverence's very friend,

"PETER LOMBARD,

"Archbishop of Armagh, primate of Ireland."*

These letters show that the writers did not know for certain whither the exiles meant to go, but we can collect from them that they thought that Spain was their ultimate destination. Meanwhile, however, Cornwallis' intrigue at the court of Madrid, of which Lombard was ignorant, worked so effectually on the Spanish prime minister, that he wrote to the archdukes it would be more advisable for the Irish nobles to proceed to Rome. The letter containing this suggestion did not reach Brussels, as we shall see, till a month had elapsed after it was written.

At last, on Sunday, 25th November, 1607, O'Neill, O'Donel, with sundry of their followers, numbering in all thirty individuals, set out with the intention of going to Spain. The journey was to be performed on horseback, and they were well provided with waggons for their baggage. Having left Louvain at daybreak they reached Namur the same night, when they were overtaken by a courier from the archdukes, who requested them to retrace their steps without delay. "This," says O'Keenan, "alarmed us all, the more so as the country was then swarming with marauders belonging to the army of prince Maurice of Nassau, the friend of king James. Not knowing what might

* Irish Correspondence, S. P. O., London.

befall us, we looked to our arms, and prepared ourselves for the worst." On Thursday, the 29th, they once more entered Louvain, and were made aware of the contents of the Spanish minister's letter. "This," continues O'Keenan, "was a bitter disappointment, to which we had to resign ourselves." It was a gratification, however, to king James, for Cornwallis wrote to him that "the Irish were stayed in the Low Countries, and from thence should go to Rome, whence they proposed proceeding to Spain." "I am assured," adds the ambassador, "that they shall have no abiding place here (in Spain) nor with the pope, who showeth great affection to the king my master. The archdukes may suffer them to stay a while in their countries for charity's sake, paying for the bread they eat withal." There was some truth in this despatch, but the pope's affection for the head of the English church was the ambassador's invention—one of the many lies which it was his duty to circulate for his country's benefit. It was on their return to Louvain that the Irish heard of the execution of Brian Mac Art, for whom, as we have seen, O'Neill was so deeply interested.

Their original plan having been thus unexpectedly deranged, they resolved to remain at Louvain some months, as the winter was intensely severe—the low-lying lands and the Dyle being inundated and frozen. The generous townsfolk were delighted at learning this, nor did they lose any opportunity of showing them the most signal kindness. When Christmas came the burgomeister and the chief citizens waited on O'Neill, and according to custom paid him and O'Donel all the usual compliments, making them presents, and sending minstrels to perform in their residences. Surely the kind Louvainists deserved well of our Irish nobles!

It was at this period that O'Neill and O'Donel resolved to send to king James an ample justification of their conduct in leaving Ireland, and a statement of the vexations and injustices they had to endure from his majesty's Irish government, which left them no peace, but rather made their lives miserable beyond bearing. Indeed, their principal aim was to show the king that, far from plotting against his crown, the action of his representatives in Ireland, ever since the hour of their submission, was a deeply-laid conspiracy, to either drive them into rebellion or out of their unhappy homes. These important documents, never published till now, were drawn up and forwarded to England in the month of December. Before submitting them to the reader, we may observe that neither O'Neill nor O'Donel condescended any reply to the false charges of treason made in the king's proclamation, or to the still more mendacious assertions regarding their birth and immoralities. They took higher ground; and although, as men and Christians, they must have keenly felt such insults—all the more painful since proceeding from hypocritical vice and presumptuous incapacity—they determined to treat them with dignified silence. Nor will it be out of place to remark, that Leland and doctor Curry* were greatly mistaken when they asserted that the earls left no memorial in vindication of their conduct—the latter, strangely enough, insinuating that they were either incapable of drawing up such, or too necessitous and desponding to do more than make an oral representation of their sufferings at foreign courts. Like the generality of those who manipulate Irish history out of printed books, neither of these authors ever

* See Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland, vol. i. p. 85.

sought information on this subject where they could have found it,—among the contemporary documents in that great depository, the London Public Record Office. With these preliminary remarks, we now place before our readers the categorical narrative of the oppressions and bitter wrongs which the earls themselves dictated, and which has hitherto lain unpublished among "the old historic rolls."

"*Articles exhibited by the earl of Tyrone to the king's most excellent majesty, declaring certain causes of discontent offered him, by which he took occasion to depart his country.*

"1. First: That it was by public authority proclaimed in his manor of Dungannon, that none should hear Mass upon pain of losing his goods and imprisonment, and that no curate or ecclesiastical person should enjoy any cure or dignity without swearing the oath of supremacy, and entering to the chapters or congregations of those that professed the contrary religion; and that those that refused so to do were actually deprived of their benefices and dignities, as by the lord deputy's answer given upon a petition exhibited by the earl in that behalf may appear, as also by the lord primate of Ireland, that put the same in execution in the earl's country daily.

"2. Item: By the procurement of the earl of Devonshire, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, there was taken from the earl two parcels of his land, formerly held and enjoyed by himself and his ancestors, time out of mind, called the Fews, and sir Henry Oge's country, and that passed to sir Tirlough M'Henry and the said sir Henry Oge O'Neill, knights.

"3. Item: There was threescore cows taken from him and his, that he and his ancestors had yearly of ancient rent out of sir Cahir O'Dogherty's country, called Innisowen, never before your majesty's reign brought to any question.

"4. Item: The said lord lieutenant did take from him all the fishings of the Bann, in like manner enjoyed and possessed by the earl and his ancestors, which the earl, to avoid the trouble of the law, was forced to purchase again, as though he had never before any title thereunto.

"5. Item: There hath been also certain other parcels of the earl's land taken from him by false offices, taken without the earl's privity, under color of church lands, a thing never in any man's memory heard of before; and the same lands passed to sir George Carey, knight, the queen's majesty's vice-chamberlain, and by him again to sir Henry Docwra, knight, and by the said sir Henry to sir John Sidney, knight, and to one captain Henry Vaughan, together with certain other parcels of the earl's lands; and his fishing of Lough Foyle by him in like manner compassed, which also the earl was forced to purchase at the new, rather than be at continual suits of law, where he saw he could have no indifferency of justice.

"6. Item: One Robert Leicester,* an attorney in the Chancery, got by some such practice certain other parcels of the earl's land, and the same did pass over to captain Edmond Leigh. So as any captain or clerk that wanted means, and had no other means or device to live, might bring the earl in trouble for some part or

* Leccister got, by king's letter, 12th July, 1603, for his services, the site of the late dissolved house of the Carmelites at Kilcormack, the village of Kilduff, with all the lands thereunto belonging, in the King's county.—Erck.

parcel of his living, falsely inventing the same to be concealed or church land, and so under color, by such offices, to serve the king's majesty, did daily trouble and molest his highness' subjects, and are thereunto maintained by the state as his ministers; and yet are commonly found by these courses, in the end, to do all for their own private profit and personal commodity.

"7. Item: The archbishop of Armagh and bishop of Derry and Clogher did pretend to take from the earl the best part of his whole living, claiming the same to be appertaining to their bishoprics, which was never moved by any other predecessors before, other than that they had some chiefry due to them in most part of all his living, and would now have the whole land to themselves as their demesne lands, and will not be content with the benefit of their ancient registers, which the earl always offered and was willing to give without further question.

"8. Item: O'Cahan, one of the chiefest and principalest of the earl's tenants, was set on by certain of his majesty's privy council, as also by his highness' counsel-at-law, to withdraw himself and the lands called Iraght-I-Cahan from the earl, being a great substance of his living, and the only part thereof that he and his ancestors did always hold themselves most. Notwithstanding that, the said O'Cahan did, at his own house, before the lord deputy and council, being by them in that case deeply examined, renounce to have any title or right to the said land, or any part thereof, other than by the earl and his ancestors, and without any farther trial or color of right that ever he could show for himself, other than that he and his predecessors did from time to time hold the same from the earl and his ancestors as *tenants at will*, yielding and paying to them yearly all such rents, dues, and reservations as

others of their tenants did. The earl was quite dispossessed, by order from the council-table, of the two parts of the said land, and a warrant given to O'Cahan to take his charges in following the suit against the earl from his tenants of the other third part left to the earl; whereat the earl, being somewhat aggrieved, read his complaint to the lord deputy and council thereof, who, after long debate, perceiving the wrong, their lordships did refer the re-examination of the cause to sir Thomas Phillips and sir George Paulet, knights, and they finding O'Cahan's former suggestion to be false to order the matter according to justice, where, upon full hearing of the cause and examining of witnesses of both sides, they found O'Cahan to be in the wrong, and did therefore decide that he should not only cease farther to demand anything of the earl's said tenants of that third part, but that he should also restore unto them what he had already taken from them, and that the sheriff should put the same in execution, whereof the earl could have no benefit, after that he was at infinite charges of getting witnesses and following the same suit. Thereupon he again appealed to the lord deputy, and showed him the same order of the knights and the council's warrant to undertake the matter; and all that notwithstanding he could prevail nothing, and had no answer from the deputy but that he knew no means else that O'Cahan had either to pay the treasurer who lent him money in Dublin to follow his suit against the earl, or to bring him to England, there also to trouble him but by that or some such means. So as, after all the earl's labor, travail, and charges, O'Cahan had his order fully executed, and the earl no benefit of his. And further, the earl did perceive by sir John Davys, his majesty's attorney's speech before the council-table, that it was fully intended and

resolved amongst them that he should lose the other third part; when he said, in plain terms, that he would never serve the king if I had not lost all that land of Iraght-I-Cahan, and much more of that I hold and thought myself most assured of; and to maintain his word in that behalf, the said sir John Davys, and the rest of his majesty's counsel-at-law, did likewise make claim in his majesty's behalf to four other parcels of the earl's lands, called Glenconkeine, Killitragh, Slievcshiose, and Slught-Art, being the only substance of all that was left the earl, and did begin their suit for the same in the Exchequer the last Trinity term; so as, in fine, he could not perceive how he might assure himself of anything by the letters-patent that he had from his majesty. Thereupon, understanding that his highness granted a commission for receiving surrenders, together with authority to amend all faults and intricate defects in any former patents, he exhibited petition to the lord deputy, and the rest joined with him for the purpose, humbly proffering a surrender of his old patent, and craving a new, with amendment of all defects in the former; whereof, although the same was a general favor granted by his majesty to all his subjects of the whole realm, the earl could have no answer.

"9. Item: The earl brought a suit against sir Henry Oge O'Neill, knight, in the King's Bench, for a parcel of land called Tohrannie, which his majesty's grant to the said sir Henry did not bear, which suit came to an issue the last Trinity term, that the same should be, with the consent of both parties, tried by due Nisi Prius, and thereupon an order drawn, and writs of *distringas* and *venire facias* issued, and that the earl paid all charges and fees thereunto belonging, according to the common course of the court; that, notwithstanding,

the lord deputy and chancellor did, contrary to the due course of law, command the same should be again stayed, by which means the earl's proceedings were letted, and he abridged of the benefit of his majesty's laws, and hindered of the possession of his lands; and yet any man, of what degree soever, obtained the extremity of the law with favor against him in any suit.

"10. Item: Where it pleased his majesty to allow the earl to be lieutenant of his country, yet had he no more command there than his boy, since the worst man that did belong to the sheriff could command more than he, and that as well within the earl's own house as abroad in the country; for if any one that they had had anything to say unto were within the earl's house, they would not attend his coming out, but even burst open the doors of his house to bring him out, and never do the earl so much honor in any respect as once to acquaint him therewith, or send to himself for the party, though he had been within the house when they would attempt these things. And if any of the earl's officers would, by his direction, order or execute any matter betwixt his own tenants, with their own mutual consents, they would be driven not only to restore the same again, but also be first amerced by the sheriff, and after indicted as felons, and so brought to their trial for their lives for the same; so as the earl, in the end, could scarce get any of his servants that would undertake to levy his rents.

"11. Item: Where there is a statute by the laws of Ireland, that no one should be sheriffs of any county but such as should be dwellers within the same county, and of good worth by yearly revenue therein, and withal to be elected by the nobility and chief gentlemen of the same county; yet, notwithstanding, the lord deputy did appoint gentlemen of other counties, and

not elected as aforesaid, sheriffs of the counties of Tyrone and Armagh, as captain Edmond Leigh, being not elected, and one Marmaduke Whitechurch, dwelling in the county of Louth, and withal they being both retainers and very dear friends to the late knight-marshal [Bagenal], who was the only man that urged the earl to his last troubles; and, no doubt, any that did ever belong unto him, will be ready to do the earl all the mischief they can devise by all practices possible, as they in their offices did daily show to the earl and his tenants, both by word and deed, whereof the earl did efstoons complain to the lord deputy, and could get no redress, but did rather fare the worse for his complaints, in respect they were so little regarded.

"12. Item: The earl, understanding that there hath been earnest suit made to his majesty for the presidentship of Ulster, made bold to write to his majesty, humbly beseeching that his highness would be pleased not to grant any such office to any over himself, suspecting it should be his overthrow, as by plain experience he knew the like office to be the utter overthrow of others of his rank in other provinces within the realm of Ireland in his own knowledge, and did, in like manner, write to his friends of his highness' council in England, to make means that his suit might be accepted in that behalf, and, among the rest, to his very good lord the earl of Salisbury, that he would vouchsafe to be assistant to him in that proceeding, who replied, as by his letters may appear, that 'the earl was not to tie his majesty to place or displace officers at his [the earl's] pleasure in any of his [majesty's] kingdoms'—which was never the earl's meaning; yet did he plainly perceive by that his lordship's letter that his suit in that case was merely vain, as it fell out indeed; for that office is passed already to sir Arthur Chichester, knight, now

lord deputy of Ireland, as the earl did credibly understand by captain Edmond Leigh and others of the lord deputy's gentlemen, that he did meet at Slane, the 8th of September last, the deputy being there, which the earl knew right well to be the earl of Salisbury's doings, and did in very deed much fear that it should grow to his destruction without your majesty's privity. Therefore, and rather than live under the like yoke, perceiving himself so envied by those that should be his protectors, and considering the misery he saw sustained by others through the oppression of the like government, would sooner pass all to himself than abide it; yet all that notwithstanding, as well fearing further to incur any their displeasures, as for that he could receive no answer of any former complaints which he preferred to his majesty, he never durst acquaint his highness with any of his griefs.

"13. Item: Whereas the earl's nephew, Brian Mac Art, hath been at sir Tirlough Mac Henry's house, having two men in his company, and being in some merry humor, there happened some speech betwixt him and a kinsman of his own, who, on the speech, gave the earl's nephew a blow of a club on the head, and tumbled him to the ground, whereupon one of his men standing by, and seeing his master down, did step up with the fellow, and gave him some three or four stabs of a knife, having no other weapon, and the master himself, as it was said, gave him another, through which means the man came to his death; and thereupon the earl's nephew and his two men were taken, and kept in prison till the next sessions holden in the county of Armagh, where his men were tried by a jury, chosen for that purpose, of four innocent and mere ignorant people, having little or no substance to take unto, most of them being bare soldiers, and not fit, as well by the institution of

the law in matters of that kind, as also through their own insufficiency, to be permitted or elected to the like charge, and the rest, foster-brethren, followers, and very dear friends to the party slain, that would not spare to spend their lives and goods to revenge his death; yet, all that notwithstanding, were they allowed, and the trial of those two gentlemen committed to them, through which means, and the rigorous threatening and earnest enticements of the judges, being so charged by a letter from the lord deputy, as the earl did credibly understand, they most shamefully condemned to die, and the jury in a manner forced to find the matter murder in each of them, and that not so much for their own offences, as thinking to make it an evidence against the master when he should come to his trial, who was in prison in the castle of Dublin, attending to be tried the last Michaelmas term, whose death, were it right or wrong, was much desired by the lord deputy.

"14. Item: The earl did give his daughter in marriage to O'Cahan, without any kind of exception or interruption of any, and did give a portion of goods with her; and they lived so together without any question for the space of eight years, till that the said O'Cahan was set on to withdraw himself from the earl; at which time he also, by the procurement of his setters on, did turn the earl's daughter away; and kept the goods to himself, and took another to his wife; whereof the earl did complain to the lord deputy in his daughter's behalf, whereunto he replied that he knew no way O'Cahan had to pay her;* whereupon the earl exhibited petition to the lords justices of assize at Dungannon in her behalf, to whom he esteemed the same to be proper. But when the matter came to hearing, O'Cahan showed a warrant from

* That is, to restore her dowry or maintain her.

the lord deputy, that they should not determine that matter, but that it should be decided by the lord bishop of the Derry, who was himself the chief author of her putting away, and therefore, in all men's judgments, no indifferent judge in that case; through which means the earl's suit in that cause was frustrated, and could get no manner of justice therein no more than he obtained in many other weighty matters that concerned him, too tedious at the present to be rehearsed.

"15. Item: The lord deputy, farther to trouble the earl, did procure one Henry Oge O'Neill, one Henry MacFelymye, and others his confederates, to go out as a woodkerne, only to rob and spoil the earl and his nephew, Brian Mac Art, and their tenants, as the said Henry did efstoons certify to the earl by messages, affirming that he would never do the earl nor any that belonged to him any hurt, but that the deputy enticed him thereunto; who committed many murders, burnings, and other mischievous acts against the earl's tenants, and were always maintained and manifestly relieved amongst the deputy's tenants and others their friends in Clandeboye, and did openly sell the spoils that they took from the earl's tenants amongst them; and yet could the earl never get any justice of them nor of those that so relieved them; and they continued so for the space of two years, doing many outrageous facts against the earl's tenants, till, at length, they happened to murder one of the deputy's own tenants, whereupon they were fain to forego that country, for that the deputy took some care then to see them prosecuted for that fact, through which means, and that they were put from that their refuge, the earl, within one-quarter of a year after, did cut them all off; yet the lord deputy, not being thereat satisfied, further to have his will of the earl's tenants, did seek to bring them within the

compass of the law, and thereby—seeing that he could not by these sinister means prevail against them—did fairly seek to cut them off, and to that end did protect one of the said rebels, a poor rascally knave, and brought him to Dublin, where he persuaded him to accuse above threescore of the earl's tenants that they should relieve the said rebels with meat, which, God knows, they little minded, if they had not taken it from them perforce, as they did indeed from divers of them that were not able to make any resistance against them, and withal did kill their cattle in the fields, and leave them dead there, being not of power to carry them away; burnt their houses, took what they could of their household stuff, killed and mangled themselves; and yet were they, upon the report of that poor knave, who was himself foremost in doing these mischiefs, all taken and brought to their trial by law, where they were, through their innocency in the matters laid to their charge, acquitted to their no small costs; so as betwixt the professed enemy and the private envy of our governors, seeking thereby to advance themselves, there was no way left for the poor subject to live.

"16. Item: The said woodkerne did meet one Joise Everard, a Dutchman that belonged to the deputy, by the way coming from Carrickfergus to Toome, in the county of Antrim, whom they took prisoner, and kept till he compounded to have given them £30 ransom, for which £30 the deputy did cess threescore upon the county, and appointed the one-half thereof to be taken from the earl's tenants, being of another county, and at least twelve miles distant from the place where he was taken and kept, and themselves being daily killed and spoiled by the said woodkerne, and never no redress had to them from those that were well known to have

relieved them from time to time; and a warrant directed to sir Thomas Phillips for levying the same, who sent his soldiers upon the earl's tenants to take up the same, and without any further reasoning of the matter or showing any authority, did take and distress for the whole £30 in one place, and from two men, and marched away therewith. The poor people, thinking it had been the woodkerne that gave the alarm, as efstoons they did follow, and raised the hue and cry; whereupon certain men that the earl had entertained, by warrant from the deputy, to prosecute the said rebels, hearing the cry in the country made before upon a streight* that the rebels were accustomed to pass, and did meet the soldiers there coming with the distress, and perceiving them to be soldiers, drew near and began to reason with them, and learn why they took the distress, and asked a sight of their warrant; whereupon the soldiers, scorning to show them their warrant, did give them a volley of shot, and killed one of them, and went away with the distress and a prisoner, and kept him till he was forced to give them £5; whereof the earl complained to the lord deputy, and could find no redress, but that the lord deputy persuaded him by fair speeches to forego the matter to sir Thomas Phillips whereunto the earl, seeing he could not otherwise amend himself, did assent, and so lost his man and money, and the money itself is still with one captain Cloterworthey,† and not restored.

* Pass.

† L. Clotworthy was appointed "licenser of vessels" fishing on the coast of Ireland, with power to execute a statute of Edward IV., which enacted that no vessel should go fishing among the king's Irish enemies without special licence of the deputy, "as the king's Irish enemies were advanced and strengthened as well in victuals, harness, armor, money, &c., to their augmentation and power against the king." All vessels of twelve tons coming to Ireland a-fishing,

"17. Item: Certain of the soldiers of the Derry, in the time of sir George Carey's government, passing through the country, went to a village of the earl's that was near the way, where they met a kinsman of the earl's, and presently, without any speech, one of the soldiers shot him through, and killed him dead; whereof the earl could never have redress, not so much as to punish the soldier.

"18. Item: The said soldiers of Derry went another time in pursuit of a prisoner that made an escape out of the city, and went that night to a farm of the earl's, where they had the best entertainment that the poor people had; and the next morning, upon their going away, one of them did shoot at one of the townsmen with *poell* shot and broke his arm, and hurt him in sundry parts of his body, so that he fell to the ground; and his neighbors, supposing he had been dead, did pursue the soldier to have taken him, he being a good way behind his company, but the soldier, to make the better shift, left his arms, which the poor men took, and let him go, and went personally to the high constable of the shire, and delivered him the arms, and went themselves and the hurt man to the Derry, to complain of the soldiers to the governor, where they were all taken and put in a pair of stocks all night, under frost and snow, which was like to cost them their lives, and specially the hurt man, who was never dressed of his wounds; and that only for taking the soldier's piece that did the fact, after that he had cast it away himself, and never a word spoken to them for killing the king's subject.

were to pay the king for maintenance of his wars there 13s. 4d. yearly. For many interesting particulars regarding the Clotworthy family, see Dr. French's Sale and Settlement of Ireland. Dublin: J. Duffy.

"19. Item: Sir Henry Folliott,* knight, governor of Ballyshannon, did come upon some of the earl's tenants with force and arms, the second year of his majesty's reign, and did take forcibly from them above 200 cows, and killed a good gentleman, besides many other poor men, women, and children; and besides that, there died of them above 100 persons with very famine, for want of their goods; whereof the earl never had redress, although the said sir Henry could show no reasonable cause for doing the same.

"20. Item: The earl did farther perceive the lord deputy very desirous and earnest to aggravate and search out matters against him, touching the staining of his honor and dignity, and specially did very distinctly examine Maguire, and did use many persuasions unto him, to signify if he might lay any matters to his charge, all which were fetches,† thinking as he first obtained to be lord president of Ulster, then, secondly, to come upon the earl with some forged treason, and thereby to bereave him both of his life and living; and the better to compass his pretence therein, did place that whispering companion, captain Leigh,‡ as sheriff in

* He was one of the commissioners named for making shires, 3 James I. In the following year he had extensive grants in the counties of Dublin, Donegal, Fermanagh, Leitrim, and Sligo, with the abbey-lands of Ballyshannon, and liberty to take salmon at all times in the year when salmon should be taken in the river Erne, together with the town and castle of Ballyshannon, &c., &c. He commanded a regiment at Kinsale, and was raised to the peerage of Ireland, as baron Folliott of Ballyshannon, in 1619. The title became extinct in 1716.

† Schemes.

‡ By indenture, 1st of April, 2 James I., sir Ralph Bingley, of Derry, assigned to captain Edmond Leigh, his heirs, &c., the manor of Grange, adjoining to the river of Lough Foyle, with all the meadows, woods, fishings, &c., thereto belonging—parcels of the late abbey of Derry, *alias* Columbkille.—Erck's Rep.

the country, not so much for doing his majesty's service, as to be lurking after the earl, to spy if he might have any hole in his coat, which the earl little feared had he been assured of any indifferent judge. But seeing that the lord deputy, who should be indifferent, not only to him but to the whole realm, having the rod in his own power, did seek his destruction, esteemed it a strife against the stream for him to seek to live secure in that kingdom; and, therefore, of both the evils did choose the least, and thought better rather to forgo his country and lands, till he had further known your majesty's pleasure, upon perusal of the causes of his griefs, which he little durst, while he lived within the compass of the said governor's jurisdiction, once move to your highness, and make an honorable escape, with his life and liberty only, than by staying, with dishonor and indignation, to lose both life, liberty, living, and country, which he much in very deed feared.

"To conclude, most dread sovereign, besides what insolences, wrongs, personal injuries, injustices, severe persecution in matters of religion, and severer intended, as in the above articles is specified, he doth omit many others done unto him by under-officers, of which he durst not complain during his being in Ireland; as of sir John Davys, your majesty's attorney-general, a man more fit to be a stage-player than a counsel to your highness, who gave the earl very irreverent speech before the council-table, which being by the council permitted, the earl said that he would appeal to your majesty, whereunto he replied, that he was right glad thereof, and that he thereby expected to achieve to honor; and in like manner, one Mr. Jacob*

* This man married "a sailor's widow" of Southampton, who obtained for him the solicitor-generalship of Ireland. He used to play away the year's salary in a single evening.

your highness' solicitor, one not much inferior to the other in 'blabbeling,' did no less prefer very hard and dishonorable speech to the earl, which also he showed to the lord deputy, and could have no kind of redress thereof; not that only, right renowned, but there have been many other abuses 'offered' him by other inferior officers, and other of your majesty's ministers, tending to the deprivation of his honor and authority, that might be sufficient causes to provoke any human creature not only to forego a country, were it ever so dear unto him, but also the whole world, to eschew the like government, which he thinks too tedious at the present to trouble your majesty withal, and did also omit them, not doubting but these shall suffice to satisfy your highness. And so referring himself, and the due consideration of these and all other his causes, to your majesty's most royal and princely censure, as his only protector and defender against all his adversaries, he most humbly taketh his leave, and will always, as his bounden duty, pray."

A note or brief collection of the several exactions, wrongs, and grievances, as well spiritual as temporal, wherewith the earl of Tyrconnel particularly doth find himself grieved and abused by the king's law ministers in Ireland, from the first year of his majesty's reign until this present year of 1607*: to be presented unto the king's most excellent majesty.*

"1. In primis: All the priests and religious persons dwelling within the said earl's territories, were daily pursued and persecuted by his majesty's officers.

"2. Item: Sir Arthur Chichester, now lord deputy of Ireland, told the earl, sitting at the said lord deputy's

table, in the presence of divers noblemen and gentlemen, that the said earl must resolve to go to church, or else he should be forced to go thereto; which menacing speech, proceeding in open audience from the governor of the realm, contrary to the former toleration that the said earl and his household until then enjoyed, wrought that impression in the earl's heart, that for this only respect of not going to church, he resolved rather to abandon lands and living, yea, all the kingdoms of the earth, with the loss of his life, than to be forced utterly against his conscience and the utter ruin of his soul to any such practice.

"3. Item: The first year after the lord lieutenant's* going into England, sir George Carey being then lord deputy, there were by the commanders of the king's forces at Lifford, namely, captain Nicholas Pinnar† and captain Basil Brook,‡ who were under sir Henry Docwra's command, from the earl's tenants there, taken the number of 150 cows, besides as many sheep and swine as they pleased; wherewith they were not satisfied, but most tyrannically stripped a hundred persons of all their apparel, all which the said earl showed in humble wise to the lord deputy, and as yet could have no remedy.

"4. Item: The same year after the earl's going into England, there were, by the garrisons of Lough Foyle and Ballyshannon, four hundred cows, for the victualling

* Mountjoy.

† Author of the Survey of Ulster, 1619.

‡ He was knighted by sir A. Chichester, 1606. In 1610 he got a grant of the castle of Donegal, together with one hundred acres of land, and the fishings, customs, and duties extending along the river Esk, from the castle to the sea. He died 1623, and his estates devolved to the Youngs of Lough Esk, who assumed the name of Brook by royal sign-manual, 1830.

of the soldiers, taken from the earl's tenants, concerning the satisfaction whereof there were letters written to the said lord deputy, in the earl's behalf, by the council of England, requiring him to give the earl payment in English money for the same, the which he could not have.

"5. Item: At the earl's arrival before the king, expecting of his majesty a patent of all such lands and hereditaments as his ancestors had held, according to the promise passed unto him by his majesty's said lieutenant, of all these lands following, together with the homages, rents and duties accustomed to be paid unto the earl's predecessors in the several territories and countries of Sligo, Tirawly, Moylurg, Dartry, in Fermanagh, and sir Cahir O'Doherty's country, and all sir Nial O'Donel's lands, yet were they excepted and kept from him, together with the castle of Ballyshannon, and one thousand acres of land, and the whole salmon fishing of the river of Erne, which is found to be worth eight hundred pounds a year, the same castle being one of the earl's chiefest mansion houses.

"6. Item: Notwithstanding that Lifford was not in any sort excepted out of the said patent, as evidently appeared, insomuch that the council of England, by their letters, dated in the years 1605 and 1607, finding no just title or cause to the contrary, required the lord deputy to remove all the garrisons in Tyrconnel, and specially the garrison of Lifford, and to deliver possession thereof unto the earl; yet, in consideration of said letter, the earl's urgent necessity of same dwelling-house, and the former things excepted, they adjoined four thousand acres of the best land unto the garrison, and kept it for his highness' use, and withal a house in Derry, with all ancient duties thereunto belonging, which was never excepted in the said patent.

"7. Item: The next Michaelmas after the king's coronation, when the earl arrived in Ireland with the king's letter to have his patent passed, the said lord deputy would not take notice thereof, but kept him thirteen weeks in Dublin, until an office of survey were taken of all the earl's lands, rights and duties, which office being for the earl found reasonable, was not received in by the lord deputy, who presently passed the earl's patent as he pleased; whereupon the earl procured the council of England's letters to have the full benefit of the said office, but as yet received no benefit thereof.

"8. Item: There were seven sheriffs sent to Tyrconnel, by every of which there was taken out of every cow and plough-horse four pence, and as much out of every colt and calf, twice a year, and half a crown a quarter of every shoemaker, carpenter, smith and weaver in the whole country, and eight pence a year for every married couple.

"9. Item: Where sir Nial O'Donel, for usurping the title of O'Donel, and taking of the earl's creaghts* and tenants, was committed to prison, whereout he broke and killed some of his majesty's subjects; the earl, by special warrant from the lord deputy, prosecuted him with forces, and took all his own creaghts from sir Nial again, who, having made complaint before the earl of Devonshire, in England, and my lord of Salisbury, was dismissed, and returned into Ireland; and, notwithstanding, the said Carey, in malice towards the earl, gave warrants unto captain Pinnar, Basil Brook, and Ralph Bingley,† to levy and take satisfaction for the said prey from the earl's tenants, for sir Nial's use,

* Herds.

† In 1609 he had a grant of the late monastery of preaching and begging friars of the B. V. M. of Rathmullan, and a certain parcel of

where they, with ninescore of sir Nial's men and three English companies, took five hundred cows, sixty mares, thirty plough-horses, thirteen horses, besides meat and drink for six weeks for all the said companies, and used many other extortions, the country being then extreme poor after the wars; whereupon the earl procured order for the restoration of the said spoils again, which was no sooner granted than countermanded by the said Carey, at sir Nial's request, whereby there were seventeen of the earl's tenants hindered from ploughing that season.

"10. Item: The earl can justify by good witnesses, whose names without danger he may not tell, that when sir Nial and sir Ralph Bingley pretended to kill or murther the earl, they made the said Carey privy thereunto, he seeming to uphold, patronize and countenance them in that bloody enterprize.

"11. Item: The earl will justify that this Carey, in the presence of sir Arthur Chichester, now lord deputy, sir George Bourchier,* and the earl's own man, Matthew Tully, did say that he would force the earl to go into action; whereof the earl complained unto England, and could not have remedy or punishment inflicted upon the said Carey, by reason that the earl durst not show the same unto his majesty, the said Carey having many friends of the privy council.

"12. Item: One horseboy, named Kelly, for killing of one Cusack, being to be hanged, was, by a man sent privately by the said Carey, promised his life, so that he would accuse the earl to be the author that did set

land called Ballymagroarty, in the barony of Tir-Hugh, to hold for twenty one years, and not to alien, by sale or otherwise, his interest in the premises to any person, except they be of English nation, or born within the English pale.—Erck's Rep.

* Third son of the earl of Bath, "a gentleman," says Hooker, p. 270, "given to all feats of chivalry."

him on to kill the said Cusack, the which the boy confessed, not knowing that it served to no purpose for him so to do than to accelerate his hanging; and then, he being brought to the gallows, and seeing no hope of his life, openly took upon his oath and hope of salvation that he never saw the earl, and that they were the causers of his former false confession which were sent by the said Carey to promise him his life upon the like confession as the former was, the which confession he swore to be false in the presence of four hundred persons and the sheriff of the county and the portreeve of the town of Trim, wherein the execution was made. And afterwards, for the same, the said Carey sent soldiers to apprehend an Englishman, which the earl brought out of England to be his gardener, unto the earl's lodging, the earl himself being within it, and there he was taken out and kept close prisoner, without meat, drink or light, to see whether he would accuse the earl of the said fact that Kelly had done, until he died. All such, with many others of said Carey's cruel and tyranical proceedings, the earl showed to the council in England, which promised to give the earl satisfaction by punishing of the said Carey, who, at his arrival in England did rather obtain greater favors than any reprehension or check for his doings, so as the earl was constrained to take patience for a full satisfaction of his wrongs.

"13. Item: The said Carey gave warrant to levy one hundred pounds towards the building of a church at Derry, the which being by horsemen and footmen, that sir Henry Docwra sent into the country, levied, was disposed to sir Henry's use, and not for the matter pretended.

"14. Item: This Carey kept sir Henry Docwra's and sir Henry Folliot's horsemen and footmen, sir Ralph

Constable's, sir Thomas Ropers', captain Doddington's companies for the space of three months upon the country's charges, where they committed many rapes, and used many extortions, which the earl showed, and could neither get payment for their victuals, nor obtain that they should be punished for their sundry rapes and extortions.

"15. Item: There was never a garrison in Tyrconnel that did not send at their pleasure private soldiers into the country to fetch now three beeves, now four, as often as they liked, which they practised so long until they had taken all; and when the earl complained, the said Carey seemed rather to flout him than any way to right him.

"16. Item: By sir Henry Folliot's company there were taken from the earl's tenants thirty-eight plough-horses for carriage, which were never restored, nor any recompense made for them; and, at another time, one-and-twenty; and again fourteen, all in the same measure as the former, and never restored: they being taken in the spring of the year, thereby the tenants were hindered of ploughing as before.

"17. Item: For the said sir Henry's house there were six beeves and six muttons every month taken up by his own officers within the barony of Tirhugh, which continually was used for a year without any manner of payment for the same.

"18. Item: Taken by captain Doddington, at one time, twelve beeves and twelve muttons, without giving any payment for the same.

"19. Item: Taken by captain William Cole,* twelve beeves and as many muttons, paying nothing therefor.

* He held the place of captain of the king's long boats and barges at Ballyshannon and Lough Erne. The appointment was confirmed to Cole by the king's letter, dated Westminster, 1608.

"20. Item: All these former injuries the earl, in very humble manner, did show unto the said Carey, and could never be heard, but rather still, in scoffing manner, was dismissed by him, who did also threaten a lawyer that pleaded some cases at the bar for the earl, by using these menacing speeches, that is to say, 'that he and his posterity should smart for his doings, until the seventh generation;' so that all the earl's business was ever since left at random, and no lawyer dare plead in his cause.

"21. Item: The earl, prosecuting some rebels that were in the country, did kill some of them, and took their chieftain prisoner, whom the earl's men carried to sir Henry Folliot to be executed, for which service the earl had this reward, that his adversaries proffered to the imprisoned person to save his life if he could accuse the earl of any crime that might work his overthrow, which the prisoner could not do, whereupon he was hanged.

"22. Item: The said Carey directed a general warrant to sir Ralph Bingley, vice-governor of Lough Foyle, and to captain Cole, vice-governor of Ballyshannon, to compel all such tenants as sir Nial demanded to return to him with their goods and chattels; by virtue, whereof the said vice-governors made motion of an examination, which was to be taken of twelve of the earl's men, and as many of sir Nial's, which whereunto the men being come, the earl's men were not examined, but locked up in a room, and the vice-governors, upon the false deposition of sir Nial's men, directed warrants, and sent soldiers to the number of three hundred, to bring all the earl's tenants, against their wills, unto sir Nial, to the number of 340 persons, who paid half a crown a-piece, and twelve pence for every cow and garron, as a fee unto the captains, whereby they lost their ploughing

for the space of twenty-eight days, the soldiers being in the country all the while.

"23. Afterwards the earl, finding no other respect at the said Carey's hands, went into England where he made complaint, and procured letters of sundry articles in answer of his demands unto sir Arthur Chichester, then and now lord deputy, who, upon receipt of them, seemed very respectively to give the earl contentment in his said demands, and withal consented and gave warrant for the establishing of the earl in the possession of Lifford, the which he recalled again the next day, and still deferred the matter until his going a progress into the north, where he being come, and having taken a view of the town, he called to council sir Henry Docwra, to know his opinion concerning the necessity of the place for his majesty's service, the which, more for his own profit than for his majesty's service, as by the sequel hereof may appear, did judge it to be a place most requisite for his majesty's use; but afterwards, at the lord deputy's being at sir Henry's house, sir Henry's wife begged a lease of the said town, with the market thereof, for one-and-twenty years, whereby he detected his project in the delivery of his so unjust and wrongful an opinion concerning the said place; all which to be true the said lord deputy will not deny.

"24. Item: After that the earl was in possession of Castle Doe, by sir George Carey's warrant, one Neal Mac Swyne, pretending a title unto it, with others, forcibly did enter into the said castle, the earl being in England, and dispossessed the earl's constable out of it, and kept it by virtue of an order afterwards granted by the council against the earl to maintain him therein. And at the earl's return out of England, he made humble suit unto the lord deputy to be again restored into the possession whereof he was so treacherously despoiled, until a course

of law were taken between the said Neal and him, the which he could not obtain, but the possession was maintained for his adversary against him until the said Neal did go into rebellion; by means whereof the earl lost the rent of sixty quarters of land for the space of one year and a half, paying the king's rents yearly for the same; and afterwards the earl besieged the castle, and won it at his own charges; in recompense of which service, the lord deputy appointed to captain Brook to dwell there, and constrained the earl to accept of such rents as he had given order to the said captain to pay, and to pass a lease thereof, and four quarters of the best lands thereunto annexed, for one-and-twenty years, unto the said captain.

"25. Item: One captain Henry Vaughan, being sheriff the year 1605, got a warrant, towards the charge of a sessions-house, to levy a hundred and fifty pounds upon the country, the which house was only builded of timber and wattles; and notwithstanding that the said captain promised to make it substantial and durable, yet it was not worth ten pounds, it having fallen within one month after the building thereof; but, nevertheless, he sent soldiers, upon the country's charges also, to levy every penny of the said money, and afterwards the country was forced to defray the charges of another sessions-house for the next year ensuing, by the lord deputy's appointment and order.

"26. Item: At the same sessions, 1605, the lord deputy being at Lifford, there was one Owen MacSwyne to be executed, unto whom, by the appointment of sir Oliver Lambert, who gave a *caveat* unto sir Henry Folliot from time to time, as often as there should be any persons to be executed, to assure them of their lives if they informed of any matters to overthrow or prejudice the earl, sir Henry sent privately, promising him his

life and large rewards if he would charge the earl with some detestable crime.

"27. Also, at the same sessions, the earl was called to the bar for hanging of some woodkerne during the lord lieutenant's time,* he having then authority to execute martial-law, insomuch that he was fain to plead a particular pardon which he had, for otherwise the general pardon would not avail him or stand him in any stead, as the judges alleged.

"28. Item: Within a short time afterwards, sir Henry Docwra's and sir Henry Folliot's horsemen and footmen were, by the said lord deputy's orders, cessed upon the country, where they for four months remained and paid nothing for their charges of horse-meat or man's-meat.

"29. Item: The earl having purchased sixteen hundred pounds' worth of his own inheritance from sir Ralph Bingley, who entered into bonds of the staple of three thousand pounds for the maintaining of the earl in possession of all the lands and hereditaments that he had passed unto the earl, against all persons pretending title unto the whole or any part or parcel thereof; yet did the council give warrant unto one that was sir Ralph's tenant, before the passing over of the said land to the earl, to enter into possession of all such lands as he formerly held, by virtue of a writing that was between him and sir Ralph, mentioning no certain rent, but what sir Ralph pleased to demand; and so he continued, by their order, in the said possession, and paid no rent unto the earl. And into another part of the said lands the bishop of Derry entered, pretending the same as his right; and afterwards, sir Ralph having arrived in Ireland, the earl made suit unto the lord

* Mountjoy.

deputy to have him apprehended until he did perform covenant according unto the said bonds; the which the lord deputy would not do, but bade him to deal with the mayor of Dublin, and have him arrested; and when the mayor's officer was brought to execute the arrest with as full authority as might be, sir Ralph showed the lord deputy's warrant of protection, whereby the earl lost both the lands and money aforesaid.

"30. Item: At the said lord deputy's coming into Fermanagh, in 1606, the earl having gone thither to meet him, he sent privately to apprehend one Teigue O'Corcoran, servant to Maguire, and brought him secretly into the tent wherein he slept, where he was bound and tortured with bed-cords, to the end he might extort or charge the earl with something tending to the earl's overthrow and ruin, where he continued for the space of five days; within which time the said lord deputy came to Ballyshannon, where he, being at supper, demanded of the earl what right he had to the former things he claimed in the several territories before specified; whereunto the earl answered that his ancestors were in possession of the several territories before specified for one thousand three hundred years, and that the said duties, rents, and homages were duly observed and paid during the said time; whereunto he replied that the earl was unworthy to have them, and that he should never enjoy them, and that the state was sorry that he had so much left him as he had then in possession, and withal wished him to take heed of himself, or else he would make his pate ache. All which he said in the presence of the lord chief justice, others of the council, and divers gentlemen that sat at the table.

"31. Item: At the same time there were sundry old challenges of tenants, preys, and spoils between the earl and sir Nial, the which controversies the earl, for his

part, at the lord deputy's entreaty, he promising first to the earl to order and award at leastwise all the said spoils, taken by virtue of sir George Carey's warrant, unto the earl, referred to the said lord deputy's censure, and delivered up that and all his papers; and notwithstanding the said promise, there were three hundred pounds ordered against the earl, and all his challenges frustrated, and his papers burned. And afterwards sir Nial's papers were privately given back again unto himself, by reason whereof the earl was forced, at the least sessions, to give unto sir Nial the benefit of all the said papers again, he having nothing to show to the contrary.

"32. Item: At the said lord deputy's return again into Fermanagh, he sent for Maguire, and wished him to accuse the earl, who protested and swore that he could not charge him with anything; to whom the lord deputy replied again, with an oath, that he should never part from him until he had confessed as much as Teigue O'Corcoran, above-mentioned, had declared, it being in verity nothing at all; and yet the said Teigue was charged by them as having confessed matters against the earl.

"33. Item: One Terry O'Reilly, being condemned to be hanged at Athlone for some delict, was proffered his life by a man sent secretly to him by the said lord deputy, which messenger arrived and came to the said Terry just as he was to be hanged, and delivered to him his errand, which was not only a proffer of his life to him, but also large rewards, if that he would charge the earl with treason, the which he promised to perform, and thereupon was taken back again, and was privately examined; but they, finding his examination to halt, as no wonder it should, being forged at the same instant, sent him to prison, there to remain until

he had justified somewhat of what he had promised; and if he could not do it, that then he should be hanged. But there he continued until the earl's departure this last time out of Ireland.

"34. Also a gentleman named Donagh O'Brian, who had some time followed the earl, was committed in Athlone to prison, out of which he made an escape; and afterwards sir Oliver Lambert sent a protection to him, and he being come before the lord deputy and the said sir Oliver, into a private chamber, sir Oliver told him that he should not only have his pardon, but also large rewards, if he would charge the earl with treason; but the gentleman, who neither could nor would charge the earl with anything, made rather choice to abandon his native country, than to stay therein to feel the effects of their merciless mercy.

"35. Furthermore, one Owen Groome MacCormack, natural of Moylurg, within the county of Roscommon, was taken prisoner, and brought before the earl of Clanricard and the council of Connaught, by the lord deputy's order, to accuse the earl with somewhat as before; and being examined, he swore, in the presence of them all that he could not charge the earl with anything at all, whereupon he was enlarged.

"36. Item: One Terry O'Kelly was to be executed in Galway, whose life was offered unto him if he would accuse the earl; and because he could not charge him with any crime, he was hanged.

"37. Furthermore, the said earl can justify, by good proofs, that of twenty and seven persons that were hanged in Connaught and Tyrconnel, there was not one of them but had the former promises upon the like conditions made unto them.

"38. Item: One captain Ellis ravished a young maiden of the age of eleven years, in the earl's country, and caused

two soldiers to hold their hands and legs until he had satisfied his lacivious desires, the which matter was, by a jury, presented to the sheriff, in his Term-court; whereof the earl understanding, informed the lord deputy, and withal prayed his lordship to proceed against the said Ellis according unto his delicts; but he refused to do it, and only wished the earl to demand for the verdict of the said jury, at the next sessions to be holden within the country, and promised withal never to grant a pardon to the said Ellis, in the presence of many nobles and gentlemen. But the matter being moved at the next sessions, and after referred again to the jury, they presented the said Ellis guilty; whereupon he being absent, a writ of outlawry was directed, the which the earl hath to show, under the clerk of the crown's hand; and yet the lord deputy, notwithstanding his former promise, granted to the said Ellis his pardon.

"39. Also the said Ellis told an Englishman, that did afterwards of himself acquaint the earl therewithal, how he would come with soldiers, and raise an alarm and 'cry' near unto the earl's house, and when the earl should come forth, that he would kill him, making no question of obtaining his pardon notwithstanding; which his words the earl showed to the lord deputy, in the presence of many, adding herewithal an oath how he stood not assured of his life, if the said Ellis were not restrained or bound to the peace; neither of which so just demands could the earl obtain.

"40. Item: The duties of the fishing of Killybegs being the earl's as a thing that was found to have been in his ancestors' possession by the survey of thirteen hundred years before, was taken away from him, it being a thing worth five hundred pounds for that season, by sir Henry Foilliot and the bishop of Derry;

which wrong the earl showed to the lord deputy, and could get none other redress than that the deputy addressed a warrant unto the bishop of Derry, to maintain him in the possession thereof against the earl, both for that season and all times ensuing.

"41. Item: The said sir Henry having occasion to use carriage horses, took away those that served the earl's house with fuel and wood for fire; and the soldiers scorning to feed the horses themselves, went into the earl's house, and forcibly took out one of the earl's boys to lead them, and ran another in the thigh with a pike for refusing to go with them; whereof the earl likewise complained, but could have no satisfaction.

"42. Item: The three M'Swynes and O'Boyle, who always held their lands from O'Donel, paying what rent he pleased to impose upon them, and so consequently to hold from the earl, as was also found by the abovementioned survey, seeing that they all and either of them had made over all their estates and rights unto the earl by their deeds of feoffment, and suffered a recovery to be passed in form of law, and did take again their said lands from the earl by lease of years, for certain rents; yet, notwithstanding, the said lord deputy gave several warrants, unto every one of them that demanded it, to pay no rents unto the earl, and that if he should demand any other of them than that they themselves pleased to pay unto him, in such a case the governor of Derry was required to raise the country from time to time, and resist and hinder the earl from taking up his rents.

"43. The earl, upon this, made a journey into the pale, to know the reason why he was debarred from his rents, and lodged, on a certain night, in the abbey of Boyle,*

* Now one of the most picturesque ruins in Ireland It was founded for Cistercians, and dedicated to B. V. M., by Maurice

where scarce was he arrived, but that the constable of the town, accompanied by twenty soldiers, and their ensign, and all the churls of the town, environed and fired the house wherein the earl lay, he having no other company within it than his page and two other his serving-men. But it befel, through the singular providence of Almighty God, whose fatherly care he hath ever found vigilant over him, that he defended himself and his house against them all the whole night long, they using, on the other side, all their industry and might to fire it, and throwing in of stones and staves in the earl's face, and running their pikes at him, and swords, until they had wounded him, besides his other bruisings with stones and staves, in six places; they menacing to kill him, affirming that he was a traitor to the king, and that it was the best service that could be done to his majesty to kill him. And that all this is true, sir Donagh O'Conor, who was taken prisoner by the same men, because he would not assist them in their facinorous and wicked design of killing the earl, will justify; but in the morning, the earl was rescued by the country folk, which conveyed him safely out of the town. And when the earl complained and showed his wounds unto the lord deputy, he promised to hang the constable and ensign; but afterwards did not once deign so much as to examine the matter, or call the

O'Duffy, 1161, when it was affiliated to Mellifont. It was dissolved in the 18th of queen Elizabeth, and granted, in 1603, to sir John King. In 1538, the lord deputy presented a memorial to Henry VIII., recommending that six of the principal Irish monasteries, Boyle among the rest, should be allowed to stand, to be used as hostelries, when the king's deputy and others resorting to the court might have their quarters therein, at cost of said houses. The memorial states that the monastic houses gave hospitality to many poor men, scholars and orphans. Sir Conyers Clifford, slain by Red Hugh O'Donel, in the Curlew mountains, was buried in Boyle, 1599.

delinquents to account; by reason whereof the earl doth verily persuade himself—which his surmise was afterwards confirmed in time by the credible report of many—that some of the State were sorry for his escape, but specially sir Oliver Lambert, who had purposely drawn the plot of the earl's ruin, and set the ensign on to execute it, as the earl will also justify.

"44. Finally, the said lord deputy, having written unto the earl for some hawks* this last summer, the earl, desirous to continue his accustomed annual benevolence and amity towards him, of bestowing some hawks on him, sent unto him a caste, he himself remaining only with two caste more to bestow on his other good friends; all this notwithstanding, did the sheriff of Tyrconnel cause one Donall Gorme M'Swyne, being one of those before deputed by warrant to detain the earl's rent, to take up the hawks from the earl's man, and sent them to the lord deputy, whereof the earl understood he being then at Dublin, and made the lord deputy a challenge for his hawks, yet could not recover them; whereat grieved, he said that he found himself more grieved at their loss in that nature than at all the injuries he had before received; whereunto the deputy replied, that he cared not a rush for him or his bragging words;

* "The hawks of Ireland," says Moryson, "Ireland," p. iii. p. 160, "are much esteemed in England, and are sought out by many and all means to be transported to England." In 1606, sir G. Fenton had £6 13s. 4d. per annum as master of hawks; and in the same year a proclamation was issued, forbidding all masters of ships to carry away hawks, without special licence, "as sundry honorable personages were disfurnished thereof, to their utter disappointment." Roderick O'Connor presented hawks to king Henry II.; and the Annals of the Four Masters state, that Silken Thomas sent twelve "great hawks" and fourteen hobbys, to the emperor Charles V. Incredible as it may now seem, we read of a thousand guineas having been given for a caste of hawks in the days of falconry.

warning him withal to look well to himself, in the same threatening manner that he had done before at Ballyshannon."

Did the king peruse or answer these voluminous indictments? We know not; for notwithstanding a diligent search among the state papers of the period, no replication has turned up. It is more than probable, indeed, that his majesty never gave himself any trouble on the subject; for his was one of those cold, implacable natures, that could listen to the cry of distress without pity or commiseration. Like many other sin positions analogous to his, he hearkened to none but favorites—a class, generally speaking, the most worthless; out of every hundred of which it would not have been difficult to pick ninety-nine subtle, ambitious, and designing schemers. Of gratitude he had no perception, or he would have remembered how O'Neill and O'Donel's brother dealt with the wicked woman who slew his mother at Fotheringay; and how the former, when his power had culminated, offered to set him upon an Irish throne. Unthankful for past services, he suffered himself to be ruled by falsest prepossessions, which, once they struck root in his hard heart, grew sturdily there like an oak in the cleft of a rock. He lacked the spirit to extirpate them, for he feared that whatever heart he had should necessarily go along with them. Slave to his material instincts—and they were the most grovelling—his sole thought was to cater to them by all reachable means, never scrupling to rob the good and deserving, to enrich parasites who flattered his vanity by extolling qualities he did not possess. These very characteristics he bequeathed liberally to his offspring; and, looking

dispassionately at the history of the past, the writers although regretting the chivalrous Irish blood that was so generously wasted at the Boyne* and Aughrim, cannot bring himself to lament such victories, or to blame the citizens of Derry for slamming their gates in the face of such a king's grandson.

There is only another incident associated with the sojourn of the Irish nobles at Louvain, which we may not omit to mention. They were jealously watched by emissaries in the pay of the English government, some of whom made their way to their kitchens, and there insinuating themselves into the good graces of menial servants, who, we may presume, were not deep in the confidence of their masters, cooked such intelligence as the following for their patrons at home :

"*Advertisement given by John Crosse, of Tiverton, in the county of Devon, sometimes servant to sir Francis Walsingham.*

"Paris, February 19, 1607.

"About the 12th day of January last, the said John Crosse being at Louvain, went to the house of the earl of Tyrconnel, where, falling into speech of Ireland, he was entreated to stay at supper, and after supper he heard the followers and captains of the earl of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, namely, one Barnwell and Butler, with others whose names he knew not, fall into the speeches following:

"That they did hope to have a good day in Ireland very shortly, upon the return of an answer from O'Sul-

* The most vivid and impartial history of this battle will be found in sir W. Wilde's Boyne and Blackwater.

livan Bere,* of Berehaven, in the county of Kerry, being then in Spain with other Irish gentlemen.

"That they do purpose to furnish the land speedily with shot, powder, and lead, by Irish merchants, the which shall pretend to come into Wales for coal, and so strike over into France and other appointed places, as also, under pretence of transporting pipe-staves to foreign parts, shall receive there the said munition, and lay them in at their return in the house of one sir John Talbot, in Ireland, called Malahide haven, near the castle of Howth, by the assistance of sir Patrick Barnwell.

"That another part thereof should be laid in at Berehaven and at Galway, in Connaught, and in the earl of Tyrconnel's country, where the said earl took shipping.

"That the said Barnwell and others shall go over disguised with the said munition, and that the earl of Tyrone shall proceed to get assistance of money from foreign princes, and return shortly after them himself disguised.

"That he hopeth to have assistance from the towns, which yet he never had, and that they purpose to defend the said earl, body and goods, in case the king grant them not liberty of conscience.

"That if they can get no aid from the towns, the said captains shall endeavor to gather head in the west and in the north, for that they are assured by letters thence that they shall want neither men nor assistance, namely, by the lord of Cahir.

* Then a captain in service of Spain, and uncle to the historian of same name. For an account of the O'Sullivans, see the Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy, by Daniel MacCarthy, and an exquisite poem on the siege of Dunboy, by T. D. O'Sullivan, one of the same old sept.

"That they agree the most convenient time to be towards Michaelmas, when the cattle will be lusty, and the corn in."

We will now leave them at Louvain, waiting till a favorable change in the weather should enable them to set out on their long journey to Rome.

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER forwarding the despatches which we have laid before the reader, lord deputy Chichester summoned his privy council to meet him at Loftus' Castle, Rathfarnham, where he usually passed some of the autumn months, to consider the best means of allaying excitement in the provinces—Ulster especially, where he apprehended serious disturbances. His excellency's orders were promptly obeyed; and among the council that waited on him at his suburban retreat, were Jones, pseudo-archbishop of Dublin, sir Geoffrey Fenton,* famed for his knowledge of the Italian language; sir Oliver Lambert, sir Henry Harington, and others of less note. Sir John Davys was there too, to assist the deputy with his legal lore, for never was prudence or sage counsel more needed than now. Davys was an enthusiastic admirer of Bacon, and more or less agreed with the suggestion of that philosophic statesman, that "*Some of the chiefest of the Irish families should be transported to England, and have recompense there for their possessions in Ireland, till they were cleansed from their blood, incontinency, and theft, which were not the lapses of particular persons, but the very laws of the nation.*"† As, how-

* He translated Guicciardini into English, and died in Dublin, 1608.

† Scrinia Sacra.

ever, some of the chiefest families had already gone to other parts, sir John, acting on another of Bacon's aphorisms, advised that his excellency should make "a shadowy treaty" with the people of Ulster—"that sort of treaty which involves a *potestas redeundi ad sanitatem*—a mockery when the enemy is strong, but effectual in his declination." Now, indeed, was the opportune moment for realizing the great philosopher's counsel, and proving to the inhabitants of Ulster that the Irish executive was truly and sincerely concerned for their welfare. Acting on these grave suggestions, Chichester, with the concurrence of his privy council, issued the following proclamation :—

By the Lord Deputie and Counsell.

"Whereas the erles of Tirone and Tirconnell, Hugh, baron of Dungannon, Caffer Oge O'Donell, brother to the said erle of Tirconnell, and Arte Oge O'Neale, nephew to the said erle of Tirone, having taken with them the countess of Tirone and two of the youngest sonnes of the said erle of Tirone, and the sone and heir apparent of the said erle of Tirconnell, being an infant of the age of one year or thereabouts, with divers others of their servants and followers, have lately embarqued themselves at Loughswilly in Tirconnell, and are secretly and suddenly departed out of this realme, without licence or notice given to us or any other of his majesty's ministers of their departure, so we are as yet uncertain either of their purpose in withdrawing themselves out of this kingdom or of the place where they meane to arrive, notwithstanding forasmuch as the manner of their departure, consideringe the quality of their persons, may raise manie doubtes in the mynds of his majestie's loving subjects in those

parts, and specially because it may be conceived by the common sort of people inhabitinge the several counties of Tirone and Tirconnell that they are in danger to suffer prejudice in their lands and goods for the contempt or offence of the said erles, to whom the king's most excellent majestie hath within theis few years past not only pardoned and remitted many abominable treasons, but hath also given titles of great honor, together with the chiefree and government of the said several countries and territories: we doe therefore, in his majestie's name, declare, proclaim, and publishe that all and everie his majestie's good and loyal subjects inhabitinge the said several countries of Tirone and Tirconnell, shall and may quietly and securely possess and enjoy all and singular their lands and goods without the trouble or molestation of any of his majestie's officers or ministers, or any other person or persons whatsoever, as long as they disturb not his majestie's peace, but live as dutiful and obedient subjects. And forasmuch as the said erles, to whom his majestie, reposing speciall trust in their loyaltie, had committed the government of the said several countries, are now undutifully departed; therefore his majestie doth gratiously receive all and everie his said loyal subjects into his own imediate safeguard and protection, giving them full assurance to defend them and every of them, by his kingly power, from all violence or wrong, which any loose persons amonge themselves or any other forraine force shall attempt against them: and to that end, we, the lord deputie and counsell, have made choice of certain commissioners, as well Irishe as Englishe, residing in the said several countries, not only to preserve the public peace there, but also to minister spedie and indifferent justice to all his majestie's lovinge subjects in those parts which shall have any cause of complaint before

them. Wherefore we doe, in his majestie's name, straightly charge and command all and every his majestie's good and loyal subjects, that they and everie of them do quietlie and peacablie attend and follow his and their ordinary business and affaires as if no such accident as this had happened, not making any unlawful assemblies or meetings, nor bearing any arms or weapons contraire to the intent of a proclamation latelie published in that behalf. And we do further will and command all governors, mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, provost-marshalls, bailiffs, constables, and all other his majestie's ministers whatsoever, that they and everie of them, in their several charges and offices, do faithfullie and dilligentlie use their utmost endeavour to keepe and contynue all his majestie's subjects in their dutye and obedience to his majestie and the laws of this realme, as they will answer to the contrary at their extremest perle.

"Given at Rathfarnham, the 10th September."

This manifesto, however, instead of quieting the Irish of the north, or the Catholics of the other provinces, had quite the opposite effect; for it foreshadowed confiscations, the undoing of the old system of land-tenure, and the substituting a new proprietary, who could have no sympathy with the natives. No one was better aware of this state of feeling than the deputy; and no matter how he carried a good face on the matter, "to hearten his friends," he himself informs us "that the kingdom had not been in the like danger these hundred years, as we have but few friends, and no means of getting more."

But one thing grieved him more than any other, and that was that he had not acted on Howth's informations, and anticipated the flight. Had he done this, he,

doubtless, would have saved himself many a bitter regret, but he was guided by Salisbury's estimate of the informer's worthlessness, and thus consoled himself for what he states was a pardonable oversight.

Now, however, that the earls had gone, it became absolutely necessary to make the public acquainted with the treasonable conspiracy, and the deputy resolved that Howth should stand forth and manifest it to the world. This the loyal baron refused to do, for he was little inclined to exhibit himself in the informer's *rôle;* and the more Chichester urged him, the more reluctant was he to come out with his uncorroborated "revelations." Seeing this, the deputy hinted that he might possibly induce some second party to substantiate his informations; whereon Howth replied that father Cusack, his kinsman, would prove him to be an honest man, worthy all belief, provided his Excellency sent him letters of protection to pass from Belgium to Ireland, and thence back again to his seminary at Douay. The deputy, however, saw at a glance that this was a mere ruse, and that Cusack was the least likely man in the world to come to the rescue of his noble relative. Finding himself in this predicament, Howth bethought him that he might save his reputation by inducing another nobleman to come to his aid, and he thereon told the deputy that lord Delvin could reveal the whole plot if he liked. Delvin was Howth's intimate friend; and so interested was the latter for him, that he had already asked the deputy to give him a troop of horse. Such a friend would surely stand by him, and satisfy all doubters that he was a truthful delator, one who cared little for being scowled at by the public, provided it could be shown that he had saved the public weal. Chichester thought well of the suggestion; but finding he could not induce Delvin to come to Dublin, he caused him to be arrested

on the 6th November, when he made the following disclosures, which the reader will perceive are an improved edition of those already made by Howth himself. One approver approved the other, but sir John Davys doubted not the legality of the evidence:

"He says, first, that the earl of Tyrconnel brake first with him about Christmas twelvemonth, in the garden of Maynooth, of his traitorous purposes, and told him at that time that he was advertised out of Spain that it was intended by the State here to proceed with them all in matter of religion, and, under that pretence, to cut them off one after another, and therefore they must look to themselves, and he, for his part, would provide for himself, for he had many wrongs done him, by keeping him from Ballyshannon and the fishings, Lifford, and other lands, for which he was resolved to attempt something which might regain him his country in the same state his brother held it, and withal advised him to take his part, otherwise he would be in danger, and should lose his head, or be dealt withal as his father* was, who, after his good services, was clapped up in prison, where he died; and reward he was like to gain none, what service soever he did against him or any others that should be in action, as he might perceive by sir Christopher St. Lawrence, who had done many good services, and yet got nothing.

"Soon after this, for they had sundry conferences, the earl brake plainly with him that his purpose was to take the castle of Dublin, when the deputy and council were together, 'and,' said he, 'out of them I shall have my lands and countries as I desire it, and make my friends' peace with the king.'

* He died prisoner in the castle, October, 1602, charged with having aided Tyrone when marching to Kinsale.

"The baron told him that he liked not of the plot of taking the castle, deputy and council, for he thought the attempt hard and dangerous; but if you can get forces from the king of Spain, quoth he, I will join with you in attempting the castle or anything else, the killing of the lord deputy excepted, whose blood I will not see spilt, for he hath ever been my good friend.

"To this he was drawn by the earl's offer and persuasions, and out of the discontent which he had apprehended by the prosecution of the cause for the attainted O'Ferrall's lands, and by sir F. Shane,* whom he thought favored against him. The earl of Tyrconnel told him that the earl of Tyrone, Maguire, and sundry others would join with him, for the whole kingdom was discontented, and would declare themselves when they saw the deputy and council in their hands, and the kingdom without other government than their own. He told him that sir Thomas Bourke was discontented, but more he said not of him.

"They resolved to take the city of Dublin and the castle, and about the same time seize the castle and town of Athlone, Ballyshannon, Lifford, and the port of Duncannon, as he remembers, which is but by conjecture, by reason he spake of a place well fortified with artillery.

"These matters thus debated and resolved on, the earl of Tyrconnel soon after sent a messenger, the party he knows not, unless it be Rory Albanagh, a priest, to father Florence, a friar in Spain, to deal with the king of Spain, to give them assistance, and propounded to have 10,000 men at least.

"Soon after this the earl went to his country, and the baron into England, whereby he had no further confe-

* An active partisan of Chichester, who knighted him.

rence with him before his departure. But soon after he was gone, one Owen Groome Magrath, a friar, came to him with this message; that their practices were discovered to the council in England, whereof the archduke had notice, and thereupon he gave to Maguire one thousand pounds, wherewith he freighted a barque, and fetched them from Ireland.

"This friar told him that the king of Spain did refuse to give aid or assistance; but, said Owen, the pope and archduke will, at which the king of Spain will wink, and perchance give some assistance underhand.

"Owen told him further, that the earls intended to return by St. Bride's day, between Christmas and Shrovetide, and to bring with them sufficient forces to make good their designs, and that they meant to land in some part of Munster, and when they had well settled there, they would soon after attempt England from thence.

"This friar wished him to fear nothing; none could accuse him but Tyrconnel and himself, and that none knew of it beyond seas but the archduke and father Florence.

"After this the friar departed from them about fourteen days after the fugitives' departure. He thought sundry times he was in England to have discovered to lord Salisbury, but he doubted he should thereby dishonor himself, and do harm to his kinswoman,* the lady Tyrconnel, and make his friends his enemies. This much before me he confessed.

"November 6, 1607.

"Arthur Chichester."

Here, at least, was undeniable evidence that O'Neill, O'Donel, Maguire, and those who went with them,

* Delvin's father married Mary, daughter of Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare.

were all traitors, and had sailed away because they apprehended the vengeance of the law. Thenceforth no man could gainsay whatever the deputy might lay to the charge of the fugitives, for surely it would be little short of high treason to question the allegations of two such *noblemen!* Scripture itself might be doubted, were any found bold enough to question the testimony of *two* such reliable witnesses—the one a recent convert, and the other a follower of the old religion! Chichester, therefore, had fair grounds for all future proclamations, arrests, attainders, forfeitures, and the like; but what was he to do with Howth and Delvin, who, by their own confessions, had involved themselves in the plot? It required no great legal acumen to solve this difficulty, since nothing was easier than to send them both to prison for a while, with instructions to their respective keepers to make the place as comfortable as might be during their detention, and a hint to same functionaries not to be over-vigilant. Accordingly, Delvin was committed to the castle-prison on the 10th November, and about the same time Howth bade adieu to Ben-Hedir, and was provided for, as became his rank, in the Tower of London, "where," says sir Roland White, in a letter to lord Shrewsbury,* "he hath the liberty of the grounds, and diets with the lieutenant." The majesty of the law was now vindicated, and Chichester thanked heaven that he had saved, as some of his flatterers told him, the Anglo-Irish from utter extirpation, by such men as Tyrone and Tyrconnel.

As for Delvin, his restraint, although mild, as was meet for an approver, was of short duration, for he contrived to escape in less than a fortnight after, and even before Howth had cleared Dublin bay. He effected

* January, 1607. See Lodge.

it thus: one Tristram Eccleston, constable of the castle, allowed a person named Aylmer to visit the prisoner, and provide him with a stout cord, thirty-eight yards long, with the aid of which Delvin descended the castle wall, and then fled to Cloughouter,* in the county Cavan, "where," says the deputy, "he took up his abode in an old castle, without roof, standing in a lough." From this place he wrote to the deputy, "praying forgiveness of his untimely fault, which was only in thought, not in act, and occasioned by the subtlety of another, who entrapped him a youth." Whether he meant Howth or O'Donel is hard to conjecture; but, at all events, not trusting the island fastness, he made his way to the Carn mountains, where he was sheltered during the winter by the kindly peasants, who regarded him as a victim to English injustice. In vain did Chichester proclaim† him an outlaw, and in vain did he offer reward to any who would seize his person, for none could be found to accept the bribe, or deny the fugitive shelter and welcome under their humble roof-tree. Sir Richard Wingfield, with a flying column, scoured the mountain passes, in the hope of arresting him; but what chance had he of effecting his purpose among a people who had such good reason to hate an executive, of which he was the agent? At last, in the July following, Delvin "came in of his own accord," when the king directed a letter to be passed to him of his life and lands, under the great seal. What a pity that the Irish peasant should have wasted such generous hospitality on one in whose escape and surrender collusion was so transparent! Chichester was privy to both; and were any bold enough to stigmatise his share in

* Owen O'Neill and bishop Bedell died there.

† For proclamation, see Appendix.

the transaction, he might justify himself by pointing to the conduct of many of his predecessors, who played the same rôle for a consideration.*

Having thus got rid of the two noble approvers, the deputy published the following proclamation, which was largely circulated through the cities and towns—in the north particularly, whither commissioners were sent to place wards in the residences of the fugitives, and overawe their former dependents. The reader will have no difficulty in perceiving the unscrupulously mendacious character of this manifesto ; and as to the promises of protection it held out to the people of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, they may be likened to the action of the boa, which naturalists say slavers its victim before devouring it :—

"*By the lord deputy and council.*

"Forasmuch as it is known to the world how infinitely the fugitive earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel have been obliged unto the king's most excellent majesty for his singular grace and mercy, not only giving free pardon to them both for many heinous and execrable treasons, above all hope that they could in reason con-

* The escape of Hugh O'Donel, in 1592, was negotiated by Hugh, earl of Tyrone, through Turlough O'Hagan, who gave lord deputy Fitzwilliams a large sum for his connivance. Deputy Russell, in a letter to Burleigh, April, 1595, says that "Fitzwilliams discharged the former constable of the castle, and left *his own man* in his stead, which urgeth suspicion of great compositions in that matter." O'Donel fled to Glenmalure, tarried there some fourteen days with the O'Byrne, and then, guided by O'Hagan, crossed the Liffey at Castleknock, and made his way to the north. Father Mooney has left us the following pen-and-ink sketch of this great Irishman :—He was of middle height, ruddy, of comely grace, and beautiful to behold. His voice was like the clarion of a silver trumpet, and his morals unimpeachable."

ceive, but also in restoring the one to his lands and honor, which he had most justly forfeited by his notorious rebellion, and in raising the other from a very mean estate to the degree and title of an earl, giving him withal large possessions for the support of that honor, before either of them had given any said proof of loyalty, or merited the least favor by performance of any good service: and whereas, since they were received to grace, neither of them can justly pretend any provocation or cause of grievance, no not in that point which serveth for a cloak for all their treasons, namely, in point of religion, touching which they have not been called in question, and have been also borne withal in many other insolencies and outrages committed in their several countries; and whereas Tyrone himself, being lately sent for into England, according to his own desire, as he pretended, to receive order in a controversy between him and a principal neighbor of his, did, under color of that journey, prepare himself for that contrary course which now he hath taken, and most ungratefully and contemptuously fled from his majesty's most gracious presence, and together with Tyrconnel, Cuconnaught Oge Maguire, and the rest of the fugitives in their company and retinue, withdrew himself out of this realm into foreign parts, where they do now lurk and wander, thereby bewraying a guilty conscience of some traitorous conspiracy and practice amongst themselves against his majesty and the State of this kingdom, which every day doth [discover] itself more and more, and shall hereafter be laid open and made manifest to the world. In the meantime, according to his majesty's royal pleasure, signified unto us, we do, in his majesty's name, declare and publish, that, for the causes aforesaid, his majesty doth justly seize and take into his hands all the lands and goods

of the said fugitives, wherein, notwithstanding, his majesty will extend such grace and favor towards the dutiful and loyal inhabitants of the several countries which were possessed by the said fugitives, as none of them shall be impeached, troubled or molested in their own lands, goods or bodies, they continuing in their loyalty, and yielding unto his majesty such rents and duties as shall be agreeable to justice and equity. And to that end, his most excellent majesty doth take all the good and loyal inhabitants of the said countries, together with their wives and children, land and goods, into his own immediate protection, to defend them in general against all rebellions and invasions, and to right them in all their wrongs and oppressions offered or to be offered unto them by any person whatsoever, and to yield grace and favor unto every of them according to his princely pleasure and their demerit. And to that end we do, in his majesty's name, straightly charge and command all magistrates, officers and ministers, and all other his majesty's loyal subjects in this kingdom, that they and every of them, in their several charge, do use their best endeavours to see his majesty's gracious pleasure expressed in this proclamation duly performed and executed, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

"Given at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 9th of November."

The revelations made by Delvin led the deputy to think that the countess of Tyrconnel must have been aware of the plot said to have been matured at Maynooth, or at all events that the aged dowager-countess of Kildare might be able to throw some light on it.

The latter was of English birth, and Chichester naturally enough concluded that she could have no sympathy with rebels—Irish or Anglo-Irish. He, therefore, deemed it his duty to ascertain what these personages might be able to say on the subject. Before submitting to the reader the letters which both ladies returned to the deputy's, it may be well to state that O'Donel did intend to take his countess with him, had he not been prevented by the sudden notice of the ship's arrival in Lough Swilly, and the hurry attendant on his preparations for the flight. Happily for him he was not able to come to her at Maynooth; for had he done so, Chichester, as we have seen, was determined on arresting him. The countess, however, must have known all her husband's projects; and Chichester sent sir George Bourchier to her to request that she would reveal all she knew of her lord's departure. Her reply to the deputy runs thus:—

"*Bridget, countess of Tyrconnel, to the lord deputy.*

"Right honorable,—I have received your lordship's letter by my cousin Bourchier, and to satisfy your lordship's request concerning my knowledge of my lord's sudden departure, which I avow to your lordship, upon my honor, I never had the least notice of his intent in that unfortunate journey. But as near as I can remember, on the 16th of September last, one Owen Groome Magrath sent to me to speak with him, unto whom I came, finding him accompanied with one Denis O'Morcan, I think, a priest, from whence we walked into Moyglare garden.* I sent for Mr. Brian† to come

* Mr. Delahyde's residence. † A priest.

thither, but a little before Brian came, Denis O'Morcan went from us, and left the friar and me, who, when he came, or soon after, delivered me the gold.* Owen Magrath used these speeches at our first meeting, which Denis O'Morcan did interpret, to me, that my lord had sent me that gold as a token, and wished me not to be grieved at anything. But the friar seeing me lament, for that my lord did leave me behind him, which I thought was for want of love, upon which he used these speeches, he thought that if my lord had known sooner of his going he would have taken me with him.

"Upon Mr. Brian's coming to me, the friar uttered some words, which, as near as Brian, in his broken English, could interpret, was to wish me not to be grieved, but if I had a mind to go to my lord, wished me to take counsel of my nearest friends. And for my lord's return, I vow to God I have no knowledge thereof, but I pray God send him a fair death before he undergo so wicked an enterprize as to rebel against his prince; and for my conversing with priests, I would not willingly restrain myself from them; but if there shall any notice come to me of my lord's intent, I do protest I will acquaint your lordship thereof, for they shall never make me to conceal anything that should tend unto his majesty's service. I hold myself much bound unto your lordship for your honorable advice, which I do kindly embrace, and ever intend to observe it. And will ever remain, though unfortunate, yet

"Your lordship's truly thankful,

"Bridget Tyrconnel."

* Eighty one pieces.

This letter, if we interpret its purport aright, far from admitting that Tyrconnel was implicated in any treasonable plot, may be regarded as a vindication of him, and also as an energetic protest against the suspicions of the narrow-minded deputy, who thought he could persuade the countess to criminate her unfortunate husband. That he was not satisfied with her reply is quite certain, for two months afterwards he wrote to the old countess-dowager of Kildare, lady Tyrconnel's grandmother,* requesting her to let him know all she could communicate on the subject of Tyrconnel's departure out of the kingdom. She accordingly returned him the following answer, dated Maynooth, 7th December:—

"Right honorable,—Albeit I am, in the testimony of a clear conscience, free from the least imputation that might bring my loyalty in suspicion, and that I have cause to be comforted by remembering that, notwithstanding other manifold miseries inflicted upon me by God's divine appointment for my great good, I doubt not his gracious providence hath protected me from incurring my sovereign's displeasure for any desert of my own; yet I am now in my old days brought to extreme grief, in that I hear that the projects and practices intended by those that lately had manifested their loud affections towards their prince and sovereign, were contained and plotted at Maynooth, where myself am forced, through age and weakness, to continue my residence. This much I am told is disclosed by the depositions of many; and doth the more increase my

* Moore, in vol. iv. of his History of Ireland, which abounds in errors, has made a strange mistake about this lady, who was *not*, as he says, mother of the countess Tyrconnel, but her grandmother. See the Marquis of Kildare's "Earls of Kildare."

sorrow that such as are derived from myself and allied also near unto me, as some of them are, should once admit so wicked a thought into their minds, and thereby draw the just indignation of God and their prince upon themselves, and give occasion of jealousy against me.

"But herein I hope that my own innocency shall have defence in your honor's censure, seeing the world can witness my dutiful behavior from my birth to my prince and sovereign, which, with the general good opinion of your lordship's honorable and settled judgment, emboldeneth me thus to resort to your lordship with complaint of these my present misfortunes. Humbly praying that for the coming of those men to my house, your lordship will be pleased to know, which I write not to boast myself thereof, that in mine own disposition I never could, since God and my prince sent me to this kingdom, shut my doors to keep out any men that showed countenance of integrity, civility, or honesty, much less might I keep out such as by nature and alliance were any way towards me, to whom I had greater care how to give meet entertainment than either hearken what they said or inquire what they contrived, so as they might do many things in private, either good or bad, wherewith I should not be made acquainted,—myself, through weakness and age, being these two years past not able to bear company out of my chambers, although sometimes I was forced, and that seldom, in my litter, to take the air abroad.

"I therefore humbly beseech your lordship, that in hearing the examinations purporting matter in these late accidents, as conspired or plotted at Maynooth, I may, for myself and my house, have that honorable protection from your lordship as my true innocency and my faithful duty to my sovereign deserveth.

"There came to my service, about two years past, one Francis Barnaby, agent, whose employment in my causes hath done me great comfort, for with some men, more beholden unto me than himself, taking the same in ill part, hath suggested some matter against him of purpose to remove him from me. And because I am fully persuaded of the gent's loyalty and good meaning since his coming hither to me, I make likewise bold to pray your favorable opinion of him until himself may answer the accusations, if any may be preferred to your lordship against him. And so praying your honorable and favorable acceptance of this my presumption, meant only for my own justification, I humbly take leave.

"Your lordship's very assured,

"MABEL KILDARE."

This letter surely does not admit the truth of the charges made by Howth against the husband of the aged countess' granddaughter, but insinuates rather that she herself, although of English birth and undoubted loyalty, had good reason to be dissatisfied with the deputy's unjustifiable interference with her domestic arrangements.

Before dismissing this subject, we may not omit to say, that Tyrconnel did his utmost to have his countess sent after him; for, notwithstanding the royal calumnies, and the flagrant lies which Davys and others fabricated for the purpose of disparaging him, we may take for granted that he would not, had he been able to help it, have left the partner of his affections behind him. Let us premise, however, that at the time when Chichester wrote to her, all the ports in Ireland had been, by his command, laid, that is, placed, under the

surveillance of his police, who took careful note of every new arrival. Owing to the apprehensions of a Spanish landing, every one, native and foreigner, who set foot on the Irish shores, was a suspect; so much so, that the trim of a beard, the bold carriage of a man with sun-browned visage, and the subdued demeanor of another, made them liable to arrest. In fact, many and many a one was, for these reasons, set upon by the deputy's spies, and haled before justices, who, with assumed gravity, and, of course, zealous loyalty, interrogated each of them as to what they had seen abroad—what was the pope doing—and, above all, would the king of Spain send back O'Neill and O'Donel to repossess themselves, by force of arms, of their vast estates, and restore the Popish religion. Miscreants enough were found who fabricated most exaggerated descriptions of their experiences abroad, affirming that the Irish in the Spanish and the archduke's services were about to embark for Ireland; and that Paul V., indignant at the tyranny of James I. to his Irish Catholic subjects, was urging Philip III. to send an expedition to Ireland. Whether Chichester really feared such an event or not, it is quite certain that some of his creatures, as we shall see, did their utmost to persuade him that there could be no doubt about it. Now, among those taken up on suspicion was one Thomas Fitzgerald, a friar of St. Francis' order, whose arrest occurred precisely two days after the countess of Tyrconnel had despatched her answer to the deputy's letter. The examination of this individual exhibits Tyrconnel so favorably in the twofold relations of husband and father, that we publish it here, not doubting that it will be agreeable to the reader, as it reflects vividly the mode of thought, expression, and action peculiar to that most disastrous period.

The Examination of Thomas Fitzgerald, a Franciscan friar, taken the 3rd of October, 1607, *at the Castle of Dublin.*

"First, he said he came from Spain into the kingdom of Ireland in January last, to no other purpose but to use his function here; and going from place to place, he never thought or had any knowledge of any ill-purposes of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel until the Wednesday after their departure, at which time he met with one Owen Groome Magrath, another friar of the same order, and his superior in this land, who told him that the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel were gone out of the kingdom, either for Spain or Flanders, the Thursday last preceding. He (the examinate) made motion to the said Owen to license him to depart hence towards Paris or Louvain, to follow his study; to which Owen said that the lady of Tyrconnel was left behind, and it was like she would follow her husband, when he might go in her company, and be her ghostly father, and, by his language and experience, assist her until he brought her to her husband, and then he might take the course his superiors there would appoint him. Whereupon he, the said Owen, writ unto the said lady in his commendations, which letters he himself carried unto her, and delivered them with his own hands.

"After she had perused the letters, she told him that she was afraid that she should be troubled by reason of her husband's flight, and therefore she would gladly depart hence, either for France, Spain, or some other country, and requested him to go to Dublin, and try whether he could procure a fit passage for that purpose. This business he soon after performed, by means of a Frenchman then in that harbor ready to depart; and thereupon he returned unto her, and acquainted her

with what he had done, when he found her mind altered, being, as she said, resolved to go first into England. Whereupon he (the examinate) departed from her, and returned to Dublin, and from thence writ unto her the next day, counselling and advising her to stay in Ireland until she had acquainted her friends in England with her purposes of going to her husband, and therein receive their allowance and directions.

"He thinks his letters were intercepted; and the next day, in the afternoon, he was taken and committed to the castle of Dublin.

"He saith, further, that Owen Groome Magrath told him that the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel had sent one John Bath into Spain, five or six months since, to pray the king of Spain's favor and assistance, they being fearful to be taken or sent for into England, from whence and the Low Countries they received several answers and intelligences soon after, one of which was by a priest named Rory Albanagh, another by an officer of one of the Irish companies, either an ensign or a sergeant, whose name he knoweth not, nor of what company he was.

"Rory Albanagh came about midsummer last, and the officer not a month before their departure. Rory told him that the king of Spain would have them rather to go into England than come unto him, for he would give no offence to the king, our master, by receiving them, being in league with him; but, said he, the king and the archduke will write to the king, their master, to be gracious unto them if they had offended. But soon after this it was informed out of England to their friends in Flanders, especially to the archduke, that the earl of Tyrone was sent for into England, and that he should never return back into Ireland again, and that the earl of Tyrconnel should be

taken and committed in Ireland: whereupon the ensign or sergeant above said was sent to acquaint them with what was advertised concerning them on that side, willing them withal to be in readiness to attend the coming of a ship which should be sent for them soon after; and having delivered this message, he returned, as Rory Albanagh had done before.

"The said Owen told him further that the ship was a Frenchman, and that she came out of Brittany; that she was met withal and stayed a day or two by a Scottishman betwixt the lands of Ireland and Scotland, and being released, she came and anchored at Lough Swilly about the 25th of August, and gave out that she was come to the fishing, having good store of salt and nets aboard: she remained there nine days. John Bath was master; and in her came over Cuconnaught Maguire, Matthew Tully, and Donough O'Brien.

"Upon their first coming to Lough Swilly, this Donough O'Brien landed by night, and went to the earl of Tyrconnel to acquaint him with the arrival of the ship; whereupon Tyrconnel sent notice thereof to Tyrone by the above said Owen Groome Magrath.

"Letters they brought none from the king of Spain, archduke, or pope; but they brought in money the sum of fifteen hundred pounds, to bear their charges.

"The said Owen told the examinate further that Donough O'Brien told him that the earls were sent for to preserve them from danger, and that they should remain beyond seas upon the king's charge; but they should not be admitted to the court until there were a conclusion to the treaty in hand betwixt the king of Spain, the archduke, and the Hollanders.

"Owen Magrath said further, that if the peace be not agreed on and concluded betwixt the king of Spain and the States, and that if the king, our master, do take

part with the Hollanders, then will the Spaniard break the peace with England, and send an army this next spring into Ireland; otherwise, if the peace be concluded, the king of Spain will continue and confirm the league with England, and persuade with the king to pardon their offences, and to settle them in their countries in the same state that they were before the last rebellion, with liberty of conscience at least in their own countries. And if there were war, the pope had promised to assist them with 50,000 crowns yearly, and with some men, if he could conveniently bring it to pass.

"The examinate saith, upon his oath taken upon the holy Testament of Jesus Christ and his priesthood, that what he had delivered is true; and upon the same oath saith that he was never acquainted with Tyrone or Tyrconnel, Owen Groome Magrath, or any northern man of note, the titulary bishop of Down excepted, but such as he hath met withal beyond the seas, and knew, being scholars together in their youth, until at this time, when he met with the above said Owen Groome Magrath; neither had he any acquaintance with the countess of Tyrconnel before this time. He saith he expected the coming over of father Florence this last summer, who is the provincial of his order, and this Owen Groome Magrath is his deputy in Ireland; but now he thinks he will not come until there be some settlement or alteration.

"F. Thomas Fitzgerald,

"Taken before me, Arthur Chichester."

Father Fitzgerald's charitable offices failed, and he himself, instead of being allowed to pass to the Continent to prosecute the active duties of his calling, was sent to the castle prison, where he had ample leisure to

cultivate a contemplative life. He deserved kindlier treatment, for assuredly, since the days of Juliet's "Father Laurence," there never was kindlier friar. Fitzgerald, too, might have pleaded—

> ..... "If aught in this
> Miscarried by my fault, let my old life
> Be sacrificed unto the rigor of severest law."

But as for the countess of Tyrconnel, it was doomed that she should never see her lord again. In fact, Chichester sent her to London, and on her departure wrote to the privy council, "that her husband had left her in a pitiful case, without jointure or support befitting her estate—that her husband's lands were waste—and that the tenants would not live under her, she being a lady, and, in their opinion, not able to defend them; which," he concludes, "is the chief cause of their dependence on their landlords." Nothing can exceed this hypocrisy, when we call to mind that Chichester and his subordinates gave the unfortunate earl no peace or leisure to turn his lands to good account, but were continually harassing him and his, as their wicked ingenuity suggested. The countess of Tyrconnel was well received at the court of king James, "where, when she came," says sir Roland White, in a letter to lord Shrewsbury, "she kissed his majesty's hand, and a sweeter face you never saw. Indeed, the king wondered her husband left so fair a face behind him."*

But, about this period, Chichester's police contrived to

* By the earl of Tyrconnel she had one son, Hugh, who succeeded to his father's title, and two daughters, Eliza and Mary. Concerning the latter, there is a romantic story in sir B. Burke's "Vicissitudes of Families." On the death of her husband, the countess married Nicholas, viscount Kingsland, and had a pension of £300 a year out of Tyrconnel's forfeited estates.

arrest other suspects, whose examinations were calculated to keep alive his apprehensions of a Spanish landing; for, having made up his mind to be frightened, every petty incident filled him with alarm. Indeed, the depositions made towards the close of 1607 and commencement of the following year, are so voluminous, that it is difficult to make choice of the most interesting, since each has claim to that designation. The few, however, which we give will convince the reader that we have not misdescribed their speciality, the more so as they were made by persons representing the most strongly contrasted social positions. Thus, in the statements of James Roche, we have the autobiography of an individual not at all rare at that period of strange adventures; one of those who had a hand for anything, from cooking a capon to despatching a Dutch boor in a drunken brawl—one day fighting for prince Maurice, the Protestant, and next day marching under the banners of the Catholic archdukes—a fellow, in short, after Dalgetty's own heart, whom that worthy would have prized as his veritable menechme. This vagabond's experiences abroad are singularly curious, and his narrative of passing events, although gathered in the canteen, has about it a semblance of truth that does not usually invest the gossip of such places:—

"*The examination of James Roche, an Irishman of the lord Roche's country, being these two years past in the Low Countries, and serving of colonel Henry O'Neill as his cook.*

"He saith that he first served sir William Stanley as a cook, and afterwards with the Graf Maurice,* where, receiving some disgrace of a Dutchman, he killed him

* Count Maurice of Nassau.

in fight, which made him to run away to the archduke's army, and there lived in the service of the lord Henry all this while, till, about the 20th of November last, he parted thence, and bound his course for Ireland.

"He saith that Maguire came to the lord Henry about Whitsuntide last, at Brussels, where the archduke then remained, who entertained him well, and presently gave him 7,000 crowns in his purse, which sum was given him by a liverance out of Spain, as this examinate did learn in the army.

"He saith that Maguire tarried not there above one month, but parted thence for Spain, as the common report was; but this examinate saith that afterwards he heard that Maguire, upon his going from Brussels, addressed himself, in the habit of a merchant, to Rouen, where he and John Bath of Drogheda bought a ship of salt, and with the same came to the north of Ireland, where they took in the earls and the rest.

"He saith that the plot and the manner of Maguire's disguising and dissembling, was much commended in the Low Countries after his return.

"He saith that, upon the arrival of both the earls, the lord Henry, with all the Irish captains, went to Douay, where they met them.

"He saith that the archduke, receiving news from Tyrone of his arrival, and coming towards him at Notre-Dame, three leagues from Brussels, where they accordingly met, and after many compliments, the marquis [Spinola], attended with many gallants, brought him to Brussels, and he entertained him that night.

"He saith also that, after his entertainment there that night, he repaired the next morning to Louvain, and was received there into the Irish college.

"He saith they were often entertained there by the lord Henry very sumptuously.

"He saith that, since Tyrone's coming thither, till November last, when this examinate parted the country, the said Tyrone, nor any of the rest, came at the archduke, who, as was reported, wished them to forbear coming at him.

"He saith that many of the Irish in the Spanish army, being all the last summer resolved to retire into this country, and watching fit opportunity for the same, they were all stayed, and commanded to stay in the army, upon the coming of Tyrone thither; to which purpose a more straight eye is fixed upon them than hath been formerly, which was done by the suit of Tyrone.

"He saith that in the Irish regiment there are many priests that have pay out of the army, amongst which M'Egan, Flahir O'Mulconry, and father Cusack are the chiefest; the first whereof, in reputation, is not inferior to the other, but the other two are more stirring, and therefore employed in directions and plots betwixt the Spanish court and the Low Countries. The lord Henry hath another priest, named doctor Chamberlayne, who still attends him, and is used in the secrecy of all their works.

"He saith that he observed much willingness in the Irish to attempt the invasion of this kingdom, if any foreign prince do undergo the war; but he knoweth no more certainly where they should make the seat thereof, or who should undertake it.

"He saith that when others there did speak of the toil and insecurities of the war, and therein recommending Ireland for the air and quiet thereof, he heard the lord Henry often say that he would never come thither to divide a small portion of inheritance with his brother, nor otherwise to live therein, if he were not employed thither by the king of Spain in some great army, where he might make himself a fortune.

"He saith that the Irish there do much mutter a war for Ireland, and that the same is earnestly solicited in both courts of Spain and Rome, but with more canker in the first, where those motions are made, not directly, but by means and provocation of breaches.

"He saith that, upon his coming from thence, the earl of Tyrone was instantly bound to Rome, accompanied with father Flahir O'Mulconry as his principal guide, captain Fitzsimons, Mr. Bath of Drogheda, and others.

"He saith that whatever is intended, as he thinks, is not yet ripe with them for execution, for if it were, the same could not be so covertly carried, but the general project thereof should have been the discourse of some of the Low Countries, who feed themselves already upon their affections and desires of innovation and change, and do long to see some attempt answerable to their wishes."

The depositions of another examinate, a priest named Cronin, show what strange transformations one of his calling was obliged to adopt at the period, in order to elude arrest on arriving in Ireland. The erratic life of this individual, his pursuit of knowledge under difficulties notwithstanding, inclines us to believe that he was far from trustworthy, and that his ecclesiastical superiors had interdicted him the exercise of clerical functions. Be that as it may, there is a statement in his examination totally at variance with truth, namely, that regarding the threatened excommunication of the king of Spain; and as for that relating to the "conventicle of priests" held in Fermanagh, we can easily conceive that it was a meeting for ecclesiastical, and not for belligerent purposes, as Cronin insinuates. At all events, the examinate was a priest, and Chichester concluded, from such premises, illogically it must be confessed,

that Cronin was as intimate with the inside of the Vatican and Escurial as he was with the lections of his Breviary.

"*The Examination of John Cronin, priest, aged* 45 *years or thereabouts, native of Maguinness' country, near the Newry, taken at Cork, the* 20*th of March,* 1607.

"In A.D., 1599, he was recommended by Brian M'Art to the then O'Donel, who sent him from Sligo, with divers letters for the invasion of Ireland, to some of the Burkes and Geraldines, and to a priest called Horsewell, then all residing in Spain. He stayed there but three months, and after, for devotion, with a desire to follow his studies, he went to Rome, continuing there and in Italy four years. The principal practisers at that time in Rome were Peter Lombard, pretended bishop of Armagh, metropolitan of Ireland, and doctor White, both Waterford men, with one Patrick Phillips, an Englishman,

"After this time, being solicited by divers messages from Henry O'Neill, he bent his journey towards the Low Countries, and in his passage continued for a time at Paris with Thomas D'Arcy, chief of the Irish in the college of Navarre. From thence he came to Brussels, continuing thereabouts until February in A.D. 1606. Henry O'Neill addressed him with letters to O'Sullivan Bere, friar Florence, and Owen M'Brian, both priests, Connaught men. By O'Sullivan's means the king of Spain gave him forty crowns, and received a despatch from thence only from friar Florence, "*quod omnia parata erant,*" which he was to deliver unto Tyrone by word of mouth, and to assure all Catholics that they should not be long unrelieved. With this only message he essayed to embark at divers ports in Galicia; and

failing there, came to Bordeaux, where he was cherished by Dermot M'Callahan M'Art, of Munster, principal in the college, and very ill-affected to the state. But failing likewise there of shipping, he essayed to embark in Brittany, and was in the end, enforced to come to Calais, where, having fitted himself and two priests more, his companions, according unto such attire as he saw certain soldiers come from the States' side, those three priests together embarked themselves in a passenger at Calais, the latter end of August, 1607, for Dover, and from thence went to London, where, by the means of certain costermongers, their countrymen, they obtained a pass, as soldiers of count Maurice's army, from my lord mayor, to return into Ireland. About Michaelmas they landed at Bullock, near Dublin, and finding Tyrone departed, and Brian M'Art, his old master, executed, he departed to Art M'Baron's, and thereabouts continued until towards Christmas. Owen O'Cullen and Edward O'Mullarky sent for him unto Balefarnan [Multifernan], in my lord of Delvin's country, where they imparted unto him their despatch from Tyrone and Tyrconnel about the beginning of December, and arriving at Loughcarme* in that month, to assure all their friends and partisans that the pope had enjoined the king of Spain, *sub pœna excommunicationis*, to assist and repossess the fugitive princes, whereupon they were assured of speedy and effectual aid. There were further produced in his presence divers letters, some subscribed by O'Neill, and some by O'Donel, as he heard, for they were all sealed and left to their address; they superscribed some at that instant, but he only remembers one to Maguinness and another to M'Mahon.

"In February following, a great conventicle of priests met in Fermanagh, from whence he was despatched to

* The Irish name of Wexford.

O'Neill and O'Donel, with assurance from all their ghostly fathers, that O'Cahan Randolf M'Sorly, Maguinness, O'Reilly M'Mahon, Brian M'Guire, Ever M'Cowley, O'Dogherty, M'Swyney, that hath married M'William Burke's sister, Brian M'Hugh O'Duffy, Donell Spaniagh, and captain Tirrell, were all ready to assist them. The like certificate should be made from all other parts. With this resolution he came to Limerick, and finding no shipping there ready, went to Cork, where he was taken."

But all this babble was worthless in comparison of the terror which sir Geoffry Fenton put into Chichester's head; for in early life he had been in Spain and Italy, knew well the animus of foreign courts, and how willingly the king of Spain would make Ireland the theatre of war, if for nothing else to punish the English for having helped to disintegrate Spanish Flanders. To doubt such authority as Fenton's would be paradoxical, and Chichester consequently had great faith in his forecastings. Fenton, therefore, with a view to his own interests, suggested the immediate forfeiture of the best part of Ulster, and the distribution of it among those meritorious servitors, whose right, like that of the hounds to the quarry, was to tear it piecemeal after hunting it down. Fenton was at all times a state beggar; and during Elizabeth's reign we find him craving the appointment of surveyor of parish churches and steeples, the fees being bacon and chickens levied off the sties and hen-roosts of recusant Papists. He was, in sooth, one of those—

> "Court vermin, that buzz round
> And fly-blow in the king's ear, and make him waste,
> In the most perilous times, his people's wealth and blood;
> And for themselves and their dependents seize
> All places and all profits."

"*To the right honorable my singular good lord the earl of Salisbury, lord principal secretary, and knight of the order, &c.*

"My duty most humbly used,—The joint letter now sent, declareth at length the sudden stealing away of the two earls, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, with the manner thereof, so much as is yet come to knowledge. Only their embarking in a French ship prepared before for Spain, maketh me think that they are gone for Spain; but what are their ends, or at what marks they aim, must be wrought out by time, which manifesteth all things.

"Yet their running away in so fugitive manner, carrying with them wife and children, cannot but pretend a wicked purpose, to solicit fresh plots to the king of Spain and the pope, for invading this realm efstoons, with their joint forces; and for the affirmation and credit of the plot, they have brought their children, to be left as pledges in the hands of such as those princes shall nominate.

"It is likely also that they will make their first overtures to the king of Spain, and afterwards draw up to Rome, to sound the pope, from whom Tyrone hath of late received letters of much grace and favor, with desire to see his person, as one that hath defended the Catholic cause, and therefore to be cherished as a dear son of that Church; touching which point I am of mind that they will specially labor for a legate to be sent from that see into Ireland, for that such a superior power, going with the inclination of the people, will not a little countenance the Romish religion, their minds beingalready too much poisoned with the doctrine thereof; and if a legate do come, it is easy to foresee how dangerously this state may be altered by such an authority.

"But these drifts are to be observed by instruments

meet to discover such a business, which I make bold but only to point at, knowing your lordship's rare and perpetual vigilancy to work out such matters before they come to do hurt. And now only I am but to put your lordship in mind, what a door is opened to the king, if the opportunity be taken and well converted, not only to pull down for ever these two proud houses of O'Neill and O'Donel, but also to bring in colonies of the English to plant both countries, to a great increasing of his majesty's revenues, and to establish and settle the countries perpetually in the crown; besides, that many well deserving servitors may be recompensed in the distribution, a matter to be taken to heart, for that it reaches somewhat to his majesty's conscience and honor to see these poor servitors relieved, whom time and the wars have spent even unto their later years, and now, by this commodity, may be stayed and comforted without charges to his majesty.

"If, therefore, his majesty will be pleased to resolve that these two great countries shall be brought to him according to the rules of his laws, which I doubt not may be done upon this occasion, without prejudice to any party in that case, the sooner his majesty shall send hither his resolution, and your lordship's advice thereupon, the sooner we shall enter into the business, to work it to his majesty's avail by a due course of proceeding prescribed by the laws and customs of this realm.

"The consideration whereof I humbly submit to your lordship, with all my services and professions which are or may be in me.

"In great haste, at Dublin, 29th September, 1607.

"Your lordship's ever most humble and bounden,

"Geoffry Fenton."

CHAPTER VII.

HAVING now determined on making Rome their temporary abode, O'Neill and O'Donel deemed it prudent to leave some of their people in Louvain, where the archdukes had provided liberal allowance for their maintenance. Among these were O'Neill's sons, John and Brian, the latter only nine years old; Nuala, O'Donel's sister, and wife of Nial Garve; Hugh, O'Donel's son,* then too young to face the dangers of a long journey; and O'Neill's nephew, Eugene, or, as he is more familiarly styled, Owen Roe, who was afterwards to rank among the most distinguished generals in the service of Spain. Brian was committed to the tutelage of the Irish Franciscans of Louvain, and John was placed under the immediate care of his brother, colonel Henry, to be initiated in military science. The two youths had able preceptors among the Irish Franciscans, to teach them how their father and his ancestors once ruled with kingly sway in Ulster, and how grateful they should be to the monarch and laws that made them little else than beggars at the doors of a foreign sovereign, far away from their inheritance.

So soon as the generous Louvainists were made aware of O'Neill's approaching departure, the civil and

* O'Keenan calls him "the baron son of the earl." Hugh, son of Caffar, was also left at Louvain.

military authorities assembled to bid him farewell, and assure him that those he left behind would be treated with unfailing attention. O'Neill, replying for himself and O'Donel, thanked the burgomeister and citizens for their hospitality and sympathy for his misfortunes, and told them he never could forget the kindness he had experienced during his sojourn among them. "I leave you," said he, "hostages of my affection, in my son Henry, who commands the Irish regiment, and my two younger sons, who, I pray God, may grow up worthy of your esteem and admiration."

It was on the 28th of February, 1608, that they commenced their journey for Rome, their entire number consisting of thirty-two individuals, escorted by a squadron of cavalry, under the immediate command of colonel Henry O'Neill. The nobles and their suite had good horses, and carriages were provided for the ladies. Many priests accompanied, them, and, among others, were Florence Conry and father Mac Arthur,* a native of Limerick, and much esteemed as a poet. On reaching Namur, colonel Henry took affectionate leave of his father, O'Donel, and the rest; and they continued their journey rapidly, through Bastogne, Arlon, and other towns in Spanish Flanders, till they reached Pont-a-Mousson, in the territory of the duke of Lorraine. As soon as they arrived on the frontier, the duke sent carriages and relays of horses to meet them; and this generous prince, who was well acquainted with their fame and sufferings, caused proclamation to be made, that, during their stay in his principality, none of his subjects should charge them for meat or hostelry. He himself entertained them sumptuously in his palace at Nancy—had joustings and tournaments for their amuse-

* For many interesting particulars of this distinguished family, see Lenehan's admirable "History of Limerick."

ment—and on their departure loaded them with costly presents. They passed some time visiting all the churches and shrines at Nancy and Pont-a-Mousson, and then resumed their route for Basle, where they crossed the Rhine.

Their next halting-place was Lucerne, where the pope's nuncio and the entire population assembled to fête them. The nuncio lodged them in his own palace, where they duly kept the festival of St. Patrick. His Holiness' minister had instructions from Paul V. to treat them as princes, and he did so accordingly, providing them with guides, and everything else they required for the passage of Mont St. Gothard. Such attentions were well-timed at that season of the year, for the Alps were covered with snow, the weather intensely cold, while the Reuss foamed furiously beneath the Devil's-bridge,* which, with its one trembling arch, then spanned the torrent. "One of our sumpter horses," says O'Keenan, "stumbled on the bridge, fell into the horrid chasm, and we thus lost a considerable sum of money, notwithstanding all the efforts made by O'Donel and the guides to recover it." This, indeed, was a sad mishap; but what was it to the inconvenience and discomfort which the ladies had to encounter in that region of snow and ice, where the bridle-roads were little better than they were six centuries previously, when the emperor Henry, with his suite, passed that same way to do penance at Canossa!†

* Pont de Demon.

† Lambert the Chronicler has left us a vivid account of the emperor's passage of the Alps, and states that the empress and her ladies were wrapped in ox-hides, and carried on the backs of the guides. "*Reginam, et alias mulieres, boum coriis impositas, duces itineris conductu præuntes deorsum trahebant. Equos per machinas submittebant, alios colligatis pedibus trahebant,*" &c., &c. A curious contrast to the facilities of our day!

At length, however, with God's aid, they succeeded in climbing the sheer slippery goat-path that led up to the venerable hospice of St. Gothard, where they were most kindly received by the good monks, who provided them with invigorating viands, and made them happy during their brief abode in that place, for which the holy Charles Borromeo had done so much. Well might they bless his memory, and well might they reflect that in their own land there were once similar establishments, in which the traveller met cordial and untaxed welcome—

> "Whoever passed, be he baron or squire,
> Was free to call at the abbey and stay;
> Nor guerdon nor gift for his lodging pay,
> Although he tarried a week with its holy Quire."*

Having thanked the good monks for their attentions, the exiles pursued their journey downwards; and as they approached the smiling plains of Italy, they could not help contrasting the ripening fruits and lovely landscapes with the solitary tanen and the dazzling snow-fields through which they had just passed. At Faido and Bellinzona they got a grand reception from the chief nobles of these towns; and the scenery grew more beautiful and picturesque as they approached Como, where they tarried awhile to refresh themselves and admire the cathedral, rich in scrolls and inscriptions.

From Como they set out for Milan, whose domes they had hardly saluted when they were met by carriages sent by the Spanish governor to convey them to the city. Indeed, the conde de Fuentes, with a numerous and brilliant staff, came out to welcome them; for that

* "The Monks of Kilcrea." A beautiful poem by a dear friend, who is too modest to publish his name.

illustrious soldier thought no honor too great for O'Neill, whose name was as celebrated as his own. The conde invited them to take up their abode in his palace—gave splendid entertainments to show his respect for them—nay, acted as their guide over the great fortifications of the city, its vast magazines, marble churches, the *duomo* especially, at foot of whose grand altar the body of the truly great cardinal-archbishop Borromeo was *then* deposited.*

The manner in which they were received at Milan by the conde de Fuentes, and the attention shown them there by the highest nobility, Italian as well as Spanish, gave great umbrage to the British ambassador at Madrid, whose intelligencers lost no time in furnishing him with all details of such important incidents. Cornwallis could not but be highly indignant, so much so, that he wrote thus :—

"*To the lords of the privy council.*

"Having lately gathered amongst the Irish here that the fugitive earls have been in Milan, and *there much feasted* by the conde *de Fuentes*, I expostulated it with the secretary of state, who answered that they had not yet had any understanding of their being there; that the conde de Fuentes was not a man disposed to such largess as to entertain strangers in any costly manner at his own charge; and that sure he was he could not expect any allowance from hence, where there was intended no *receipt*, *countenance*, or *comfort*, to any of that condition. I sent sithence by Cottington, my secretary, concerning one *Mack Ogg*,

* "Ad majus altare inhumatum."—Capugnano Italiæ Itin. 1610. It was subsequently translated to its present gorgeous shrine in the crypt.

lately come hither, as I have been advised, to solicit for these people ; which was, that as I hoped they would have no participation with the principals, whose crimes had now been made so notorious in their own countries, being both, upon public trial, condemned, and he of *Tyrone*, as I heard, *of thirteen several murders;* so I likewise assured myself, that, in their own wisdoms, they would not hold it fit his majesty here should give harbor or ear to any of their ministers, and especially to that of Mack Ogg, who could not be supposed but to have had a hand in their traitorous purposes ; *having been the man and the means, in person*, to withdraw them by sea out of their own countries, in such undutiful and suspicious manner. That myself was, in a matter of that nature, solicitous only in regard of my own earnest desire that nothing might escape this state, whereby their intentions might be held different from their professions. That for these fugitives, being now out of their retreats, *weak in purse*, and *people condemned and contemned* by those of their own nation, and such as could not but daily expect the heavy hand of God's justice for their so many unnatural and detestable crimes, both of late and heretofore committed, for *my own particular I made no more account of them than of so many fleas;* neither did the king, my master, otherwise esteem them than as men reprobated both of God and the world, for their *facinorous actions* towards others, and inexcusable ingratitude to himself.

"To this his answer was, that this Mack Ogg, as far as he yet could comprehend, neither brought letter in his pocket nor word in his mouth from any of them ; that he hath been an ancient *entretienedo** to the king, and hath in these wars of the Low Countries spent much

* Pensioner

blood in his service; that his errand is to recover his entertainment, which there of late they have taken from him. By God's grace, I will keep a vigilant eye upon the ways which that man will tread in.

"Madrid, 19th April, 1608."

On receipt of this very inelegant letter, Salisbury despatched a very long reply to Cornwallis, an extract from which will show how he must have been mortified by the conduct of the Spanish authorities in Lombardy :—

"Moreover, I must let you know what strange judgment the world doth make of *that public reception and support* given to Tyrone and others at Milan, *contrary to the king of Spain's* protestation, both delivered unto you, and here confirmed by his own ambassador to his majesty, that the king would not so much *as shelter them* in any of his dominions: whereas now the world sees that they are publicly received, feasted, and entertained at Milan, *with money given them by his public minister there.* In which particular you may represent to the king what hazard his word and faith runneth in the opinion of others' judgment, though his majesty suspendeth his own; and what small retribution he giveth to the king, our master, in these and all other his most honorable proceedings towards him."

On leaving Milan they set out for Parma, where the reigning duke, Ranuccio, gave them welcome, lodged them in his palace, and after entertaining them splendidly, showed them camels and other rare animals that were sent him from the east. Having taken leave of the duke, they continued their journey to Reggio, where they halted a short time, and then went to Bologna, where they arrived April 10th, 1608. The legate who

then governed Bologna was cardinal Barberini, a distinguished scholar, celebrated for his prose and poetical works, who was destined to ascend the pontifical throne as Urban VIII.* The kind legate was thoroughly acquainted with the history of their wrongs and adventures by sea and land; and he lost no opportunity of proving himself their kind friend. Indeed, he appointed competent persons to conduct them over Bologna, and exhibit to them all the miracles of art which abounded in that far-famed seat of learning. There was no shrine within its precincts that they did not visit; and of them all there was none that so astonished them as did that in the church of St. James, where the body of St. Dominic is preserved.

After passing through Imola, Faenza, and other towns, they, at last, reached Ancona, and thence proceeded, like true pilgrims, to our Lady's House of Loretto, where they spent some days in prayer, beneath that roof where, tradition says, the Redeemer passed many years with his ever-blessed mother and his reputed father. The custodians of the holy house had special instructions to show them every one of the rich offerings that were made to it, nor was there anything omitted that could make such visitors happy during their sojourn in such a holy place.†

After leaving Loretto, they would, doubtless, have visited the Queen of the Adriatic, if the English ambassador‡ there had not prevailed on Leonardo Donato,

* The Irish exiles could not have foreseen that this pontiff was to act such a prominent part in Irish politics thirty-two years afterwards, in the time of the Irish Confederates.

† O'Keenan devotes a great many pages of his narrative to an account of Loretto, the miracles wrought there, &c., &c.; but he seems to have translated the entire into Irish from Alberti's and Turselini's "Hist. Ædis Lauretanæ."

‡ Sir Henry Wotton, who succeeded Cornwallis as ambassador to

then doge, to prevent them. The latter was only too anxious to cater to the prejudices of king James, and he sent the following instructions to his ambassador at Rome :—

"*Leonardo Donato, by the grace of God, doge of Venice, &c., to Francesco Contarini, knight, our ambassador to the sovereign pontiff.*

"Faithful and well-beloved, health and loving greeting. We are advised that the earl of Tyrone, who hath become contumacious towards the most serene king of England by his flight from Ireland, departed last month from Brussels, intending into Spain and to Rome by way of Italy. And although we opine that he will abstain from entering our state, knowing the good amity and perfect understanding that existeth between his majesty and our republic; nevertheless, in order that such an embarrassment should not arise, we have come to the resolution to tell you, as we do with the authority of the senate, that upon the arrival of the said earl at that court of Rome, or in those parts, you should, with that caution and secrecy which is needful in such a matter, make known to him our said intention that he come not into our state, and that should he come, it will be to our displeasure; accom-

Venice, has left us the following not very elegant verses, in his "Crown Garland of Golden Roses" :—

"Tyrone, with all his Irish rout
Of rebels in that land,
Though ne'er so desperate, bold, and stout,
Yet feared her great command.
She made them quake and tremble sore,
But for to hear her name;
She planted peace in that fair land,
And did their wildness tame."

panying the message with such form of words as you shall in your prudence esteem suitable ; and of the sequence you shall advise us.

"Given at our ducal palace, the 5th January,
"6th Indiction, 1608."*

Being thus obliged to abandon their intention of seeing Venice, they set out for Rome, passing through Foligno, Assisi, Narni, Civita-Castellana, and other towns, till, at the beginning of May, they reached the historic Milvian bridge, within a short distance of the city of the Cæsars and the popes. The day and hour of their arrival had been anticipated ; and Peter Lombard, with sundry cardinals, among whom O'Keenan mentions the Colonna, awaited them on the left bank of the Tiber, with sumptuous carriages, and a long train of servitors in gala liveries. After mutual congratulations, the Irish nobles and their ladies mounted the coaches provided for them, and, passing the Flaminian gate, proceeded to the palace, which the pope had generously appointed for them in that region of the city known as the Borgo Vecchio. Here they were soon visited by the chief nobility of Rome, and by the cardinal Borghese, brother to Paul V., who bade them welcome in his Holiness' name, and stated that the latter was desirous to see them at their earliest convenience. This, indeed, was a source of greatest consolation to them, after their long and toilsome journey.

But before presenting themselves to the pontiff, they resolved to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostles

* We are indebted for this interesting letter to R. Brown, Esq., who found it in the Venetian archives when collecting documents illustrative of English history during the reign of James I.

—that greatest of "Altars new," whose splendid marble antependium was then in progress of completion, and as yet uninscribed with the reigning pope's name.* Who can describe the devotion with which they thanked God for his goodness to them, or the rapture with which they beheld that vast miracle of art—that most wonderful development of man's genius?

On the day after their arrival, they proceeded to the papal palace on the Quirinal, and were cordially received by the Holy Father, who questioned them minutely about all the incidents of their flight and journey, and then gave to each the apostolic blessing. His Holiness was deeply affected by the story of their adventures, and congratulated them on their escape from the hands of those who were determined on sacrificing their lives. Each of the Irish nobles was now placed on the pontiff's civil list,† and amply provided with every requirement befitting people of their condition. The king of Spain also settled pensions on them, which he ordered should be paid monthly, so that they might be able to "keep their state" in Rome. On Trinity Sunday his Holiness received O'Neill's wife and the other Irish ladies in the gardens of the Quirinal, and addressed words of the most heartfelt kindness to each of them.

The time at which the Irish princes entered Rome was one of more than usual festivity; for on the Thursday preceding Trinity Sunday, the pope solemnly canonized S[a] Francesca Romana, in the basilica of St.

* The façade of St. Peter's was not finished till 1613.

† Touching the allowance made by Paul V. to the Irish nobles, sir T. Edmonds, ambassador at the court of Brussels, writes thus, June 10th, 1608: "The last letters from Rome report that Tyrone hath a pension of one hundred crowns a month from the pope, and his house rent free and *partes* (pietanze) of daily allowance of bread and wine for ten persons; and it is expected that more will follow." See Winwood's Memorial of State Papers.

Peter in the Vatican. Rome was then crowded by distinguished strangers from all parts of the known world, each vieing with the other to secure fitting places to witness the grand ceremonial. But of them all, none were so honored as O'Neill, O'Donel, their ladies and followers; for pope gave them orders that tribunes especially reserved for them, should be erected right under the dome. This, indeed, was a signal mark of his Holiness' respect for his guests, greater than which he could not exhibit. Among the spectators were many English; and we can readily conceive how much they were piqued at seeing O'Neill* and the earl thus honored by the supreme head of the Church. A letter written at this period by a father Midford to a friend in England, which, being intercepted, found its way to the State Paper Office, supplies some particulars merely alluded to in O'Keenan's narrative:—

"These holy days," says the writer, "was canonized S[a] Francesca Romana,† in St. Peter's with all proper splendor and triumph, which cost the Romans 20,000 crowns, and I never saw a more stately sight. The pope himself sang Mass; all the cardinals, bishops, prelates, and religious were present. Over night his Holiness gave order that the earl of Tyrone and the rest with them should have the best place in the church, which I saw performed. To grace the matter more, his Holiness' niece went in coach to the earl's house, and brought with her the countess to St. Peter's, giving her, both in place and church, the better hand, which she had also

* Throughout his narrative, O'Keenan styles O'Neill according to his Gaelic title, and calls O'Donel *the earl*. O'Keenan was not sufficiently anglicised in accent or otherwise to respect the law which forbade the assumption of the old Irish designation peculiar to the prince of Tyrone.

† She died 1440.

of the pope's sisters, amongst all the duchesses and other nobility of Rome; and when all the ceremonies were ended, the same niece that fetched the countess carried her home again to her own palace from whence she took her. The Italians speak honorably of these earls; and at the procession on Corpus Christi, the pope ordained that the chiefest of these Irish should carry the canopy over him, which eight of them did. On the evening of the canonization, the pope's niece took all the Irish ladies to see the illumination of St. Peter's, and the fire worksin St. Angelo—the grandest that can be imagined."

Some interesting particulars not mentioned in the letter we have quoted, are supplied by O'Keenan's Irish narrative, and we may not omit to reproduce them:—"On the evening of the canonization, his Holiness, desiring to compliment the Irish nobles and their households, sent them the offerings which, as usual on such occasions, were made to him by the procurators of the newly enrolled saints. Beautiful, indeed, were these objects, consisting of immense wax candles, garlanded and adorned with arabesques in gold and silver; large loaves, gilt, and bearing the escutcheon of the Borghese family; two small barrels, hooped with gold and silver, one filled with wine, the other with water; and three cages, of exquisite workmanship, containing turtle-doves. Many a high and mighty noble in Rome would have been glad to get such precious gifts, each of which was symbolical of the virtues of the recently canonized; but his Holiness knew that none were more deserving of them than the Irish princes."

But, alas! in the midst of all this festivity, death, to escape which they had fled so far away from their

ancient inheritances, was already nearer some of them than they could have imagined. The season was singularly unwholesome, and the incandescent glow of the June sun sickened the earl of Tyrconnel and many of his suite. So soon, however, as he had partially recovered from an attack of intermittent fever, he resolved to make the pilgrimage of the seven patriarchal basilicas, notwithstanding the oppressive heat and malaria. This pious work performed, he was assailed by a severer phase of the same malady, and was so prostrated that it was thought advisable to remove him to Ostia, for benefit of the cool sea breezes. Thither he accordingly went, with his brother Caffar, the baron of Dungannon, and O'Carroll of Moydristan, their physician. Being nowise improved by change of air, they all returned to Rome early in July, when the earl began to sink sensibly from total want of strength. During his illness he was piously tended by Rosa, daughter of O'Dogherty, his brother's wife, the princess O'Neill, and Florence Conry, who had performed the same kind offices for Hugh Roe O'Donel in Simancas. On the 27th July, 1608, he received the last sacraments, and on the morning following surrendered his soul to God. "Sorrowful it was," say the Donegal annalists, "to contemplate his early eclipse, for he was a generous and hospitable lord, to whom the patrimony of his ancestors seemed nothing for his feastings and spending."

Like all his ancestors ever since they founded the convent of Donegal,* O'Donel, dying, put on the weeds of St. Francis; for such was then a pious usage, even among the nobles whose names were emblazoned in the Golden Book of Venice. The corse lay in state an entire

* In 1474, the year after the Spanish sovereigns restored the church and convent of Montorio, an ancestor of Rory O'Donel founded the Franciscan convent of Donegal.

night in the Salviati Palace, and next morning was carried in long funereal procession, which Paul V. commanded should be of the most solemn character, to the church of S. Pietro, on the Janiculum. Ah! it was a bitter affliction to the survivors of the O'Donel, to see him thus so suddenly called away—to see him thus lifeless, dressed in the habit of blessed Francis, and with white hands folded on his bosom, clasping the dear remembrance of his Saviour's love. Such, however, was the decree of the Most High, and they humbly resigned themselves to his behests.

A singularly beautiful edifice is that which O'Donel chose for his last resting-place among the Franciscans, whom he loved above all other religious orders; nor may we overpass its history in silence. It stands on the highest level of the Janiculum, and commands a splendid prospect of all Rome—the broken arches of the Colosseum, countless domes, magnificent palaces, the Tiber winding sluggishly from beyond the Milvian bridge, and the Alban hills, with their vineyards and groves of olive skirting the horizon. Fully two centuries and a-half previous to the time of which we are writing, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain found the sacred edifice sadly dilapidated, and ordered that it should be restored *ex-voto*, and given to the fathers of the Franciscan order. These most Catholic sovereigns spared no expense on the embellishment of its interior; for they employed Fra Sebastiano to paint on its walls the terrible history of the scourging of the Redeemer, and the divine hand of Raffaello to decorate its grand altar. Nor were they satisfied with such liberal expenditure of most exquisite art, till Bramante, the far-famed architect, at their desire, raised the graceful Doric temple hard by the church marking the spot which tradition points to as that where the Prince of the Apostles was crucified.

And, indeed, the veneration which Ferdinand and Isabella cherished for this church, was inherited by their successor, Philip III.; for just two years before O'Donel's death, Pacheco, his majesty's ambassador at the Holy See, rendered the approach to it more easy, built the beautiful terrace, cleared the piazza in its front, and erected there richly sculptured fountains, to perpetually fling freshness all around.* No higher honor, in sooth, could have been bestowed on the mortal remains of Rory, prince of Tyrconnel, than to give them burial beneath that marble floor, and right under the shadow of its chief altar, above which was suspended Raffaello's Transfiguration, then glowing in all the freshness of its unrivalled tints. Beneath that same floor lay many whose names are known to fame; but who nobler or more chivalrous than he? Who of them all with history more pathetic, if we except that hapless Beatrice, whose fate was but a degree less tragic than his own, and whose relics rested there?

But heaven willed that O'Donel's new-made grave should soon be re-opened for his brother Caffar, who although removed from the Borgo Vecchio to the wholesomer air of Monte Citorio, hard by the storied column of Antoninus, lingered till September 15th, when he too died. His remains were borne with solemn pomp through the city, and deposited beside those of his brother, in Montorio.

Nor did the young baron of Dungannon tarry long behind his lamented kinsmen, for the same fatal malady carried him off, although every one imagined that his robust constitution would have enabled him to struggle successfully against it. Alas! he was only in the dawn of manhood, for he had not yet reached his twenty-fifth year. He who was thus untimely stricken was univer-

* Capugnano Ital. Itin,

sally beloved for his genial heart, rare attainments, and all those fine qualities which rendered his illustrious birth still more appreciable. A sorrowful day, indeed, for his aged father, was that 24th of September, when he assisted at the obsequies of his son Hugh, and saw his coffin descend into the grave where he himself, although he knew it not, was destined to repose. Assuredly, there is no other church* within the walls of Rome that should awaken so passionate an interest in the heart of the Irish visitor; for, do not the most illustrious and the most ill-fated of his nation await the resurrection within its hallowed precincts? Surely, no Irishman can contemplate their tombs—frail monuments on the confines of time and eternity—without recalling that most tender elegy† which the bard of Tyrconnel consecrated to their memories.

Intelligence of the decease of the O'Donels and the baron of Dungannon soon reached the Irish in Spain, who, in respect for their fellow-exiles, put on mourning, much to the annoyance of the English ambassador at Madrid. Indeed, had Cornwallis been able to do so, he would have prevented the Irish from giving any signs of regret for the death of their illustrious countrymen; but the king of Spain and his ministers gave no

* Among other grand names associated with S. Pietro Montorio, is that of the learned Luke Wadding, O.S.F., to whose biography Harris Ware devotes ten pages. The works of this erudite Irish Franciscan are most voluminous, exhibiting an amount of research and industry never suspassed by any one before or since his time. His Annals, of which he left eight volumes folio, are being continued by Padre Melchiorri de Ceretto, who has already published four volumes, bringing the work down to the pontificate of Paul V. Wadding resided at Montorio, 1618, and died in S. Isidoro, 1657. The cardinal-archbishop of Dublin takes his title from the church of Montorio.

† Mangan's exquisite version of Mac-an-Ward's Lament, will be found in Appendix.

heed to the ambassador's remonstrance, and he thereon felt himself bound to mention the matter to the cabinet of St. James', thus: "The agent of the Irish fugitives in this city has presumed to walk its streets, followed by two pages, and four others of his countrymen, in black weeds—a sign that they are no unwelcome guests here." This was bad enough; but the news he supplied in another letter was still worse, for he says: "The Spanish court had become the staple of the fugitive ware, since it allows Tyrone a pension of six hundred crowns a month; Tyrconnel's brother's widow, one of two hundred crowns a month; and his brother's wife one of the same sum." Jealousy finds no place among the noble passions, but Cornwallis was a slave to it.

Death, indeed, had been busy with the Irish fugitives; for Maurice O'Multully, O'Donel's secretary, was carried off by fever early in August, and O'Carroll, their physician, six days afterwards. Both were interred in Montorio, for it was but fair that they should rest near those whom they served so well. In the same month, MacMahon and Cuconnaught Maguire sailed from Naples for Genoa, intending to go to Spain, and take service there; but on reaching the "superb city," they were seized with fever, and departed August 12th, only one hour intervening between the decease of each. The Genoese Franciscans solemnized their obsequies, for both died in the habit of that order; and the church of the Annunziata now holds all that was mortal of them. Is it not likely—for the reflection forces itself upon us—that the last great Irishman who expired in the same city, may have had a foreshadowing that it was destined to be for him the frontier of eternity?

We can easily imagine how bitterly O'Neill was afflicted by the loss of those who were so dear to him, and, above all, by that of the baron of Dungannon, whom

he regarded as the staff of his declining years, and his successor to the ancient Gaelic title. Often and often would the grand old prince—for he was then in his sixty-eighth year—toil up the steep ascent that leads to the church of Montorio; and no day passed that did not see him there kneeling on the tombs of his son and kinsmen, praying for their everlasting peace. Happily, as God would have it, he lacked not men who were able and willing to console him; for under the same roof with him lived Peter Lombard, archbishop of Armagh, and, in the convent of Montorio, Florence Conry, then archbishop-designate of Tuam,* both of whom spared no pains to reconcile him to his terrible bereavement. Both were eminent for piety and learning; and the portrait of the former, evidencing, as it does, unmistakable traits of firmness, penetration, and profound thought, shows that he was the person to whom O'Neill would have turned for council at such a crisis. His sons, Henry, John, and Bernard, were far away from him in the Netherlands; nor is it unreasonable to suppose that he often wished to have them by his side. This, however could not be; for Henry was serving with his regiment, and the others were too young, and, as yet, not sufficiently educated, to be taken from the tutelage of the Irish Franciscans at Louvain. But surely his aged heart must have been torn when he thought of poor young Con, accidentally left behind in the hurry of the flight, and villanously kidnapped by sir Toby Caulfield, who, albeit a zealot for the "Word," had no scruple about breaking one of its special ordinances,† which forbids the stealing and selling a human being. Who could reconcile O'Neill to

* He was consecrated, at the instance of Maffeo Barberini, archbishop of Tuam, March, 1608, "when," says Mooney, "the ceremony was performed in a church on the Salarian road."

† Exod. xxi. 16.

PETER LOMBARD. ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.
Primate of all Ireland

this cold-blooded outrage on his paternal instincts? or who can describe how he must have felt when reflecting that he could not "keep this good blossom from cankers," but, on the contrary, should learn from time to time that his stolen child was being taught to regard his father as an outlawed felon, and to blaspheme the religion in which he was baptized? Here, indeed, was pain for which philosophy had no anodyne—a state of cruel suspense which could not be relieved, till some one had rescued young Con from the grasp of his inhuman captor. Hereafter we shall see what efforts were made to effect this. Meanwhile O'Neill found some alleviation of his sorrows chiefly in the assiduous practices of religion, and partly in visiting every object of interest, Christian and pagan, within the walls of the Eternal City, where we will leave him for the present, and turn our attention to the progress of events in Ireland.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE deputy's proclamation to the people of Ulster had hardly reached them, when sir Toby Caulfield and the sheriffs of the counties of Tyrone and Tyrconnel made their appearance to take possession of the fugitive earls' houses, and place wards in each of them. Sir Toby's commission further empowered him to seize Tyrone's chattel property, of which he was to make an inventory, and act as receiver over his estates, taking up the rents according to the old usage, till it should please his majesty to introduce another system more in accordance with the English fashion. Touching the ancient manner followed by the Irish chieftains in levying their rents, Caulfield has left us a very valuable memorandum, which states that there was no certain portion of Tyrone's lands set to any of his tenants that paid him rent, and that such rents as he reserved were paid to him partly in money and partly in provisions of victuals, as oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs and sheep. The money-rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all the cows that were milch or in calf which grazed on his lands, at the rate of twelve pence a quarter each, which cows were to be numbered only twice a year, by the earl's officers, at May and Hollantide, and so the rents were taken up at said rate for all the cows that were so numbered, except only the heads and principal men of the

creaghts, who, as they enabled him to live better than the common multitude under them, whom they caused to pay the said rents, were usually allowed a fourth part of the whole rents, which amounted to about twelve hundred sterling Irish a year. The butter and other provisions were usually paid by those styled "horsemen" —the O'Quinns, O'Hagans, O'Donnellys, O'Develins, and others. All the cows off which money-rent was levied, were to be counted in one day through the whole of the earl's lands—a task, observes Caulfield, involving much labor and the employment of many men, who, were they so disposed, could easily defraud, by driving the cattle into the woods, or into the country of some bordering lord. Without dwelling at greater length on this subject, which will be found, with all its curious details, in the rent-roll of the earl of Tyrone's estates, printed from the Memorandum Roll of the Exchequer, let it suffice to state, that Caulfield held the receivership for a term of three years, during which the money-rents levied off Tyrone's lands, amounted to over eight thousand pounds sterling a year,—a very large income at that period in Ireland. Withal, the inventory* of the earl's chattel property shows that it was of little or no value; and the same may be said of the household goods of nearly every one of those who accompanied him in his flight. To some of their relatives, who either could not or would not go with them, certain allowances were made, by order of the deputy, for their maintenance. Thus, for example, Loughlin O'Hagan, formerly constable of the castle of Dungannon, received in lieu thereof a portion of his brother Henry's goods, and Henry O'Hagan's wife and her children had all her husband's goods at the suit of her father, sir Eoghy O'Hanlon, who had made a surrender of all his lands to the crown.

* See Appendix.

The wife of Teigue O'Keenan had similar allowance at the request of the earl of Thomond, to whom she was related; and the same consideration was shown to many others who were presumed to have had no part in aiding the flight of the earls and their followers. The most remarkable item, however, in sir Toby's memorandum, is that relating to young Con O'Neill; for he states that he was allowed by warrant to seize the countess of Tyrone's goods, "in consideration that he had kept the child in his own care, and found him in meat and drink."*

The same system of receivership was observed in regard of the estates of the earl of Tyrconnel, and we may suppose with similar allowances to certain individuals dwelling there, provided they were able to prove that they had no sympathy with their late lord, and had not aided his escape. As a matter of course, wards were placed in all his castles, from Ballyshannon to Castle Doe, and every precaution was taken to secure them against surprise, either by his dependents or the earl himself, if he should return, as it was given out, to repossess himself of his lands.

But the matters at which we have thus merely glanced, were of minor moment in comparison of those which were soon to follow, and which demanded all the care and circumspection that the lord deputy and his chief adviser, sir John Davys, could devote to them. Before touching this subject, however, we deem it necessary to make the reader acquainted with Chichester's forecastings of what he thought, or affected to think, the earls and their associates contemplated, now that they were safe beyond the seas. It will be borne

* Con was only seven years old when taken by Caulfield from his fosterers, and lodged in the fort of Charlemont.

in mind, that the deputy's grand aim was to attaint them of treason, and confiscate their lands; and in order the more surely to effect this, he did not scruple to invent and circulate every species of calumny and misrepresentation, which he knew would find ready credence with the king, who, as we have seen, had already proved his own appreciation of that peculiar style of argument. Now, however, was the opportune moment to keep dinning in his majesty's ears that the fugitives had conspired to deprive him of his crown, and that even in their exile they were busily engaged collecting means to effect their purpose. Furthermore, Chichester knew that the king was then sorely perplexed by the incessant importunities of the beggarly rabble which had followed him from Scotland, persistently clamoring at his palace-doors for aids in land or money, so much so, that he was obliged to publish a proclamation against their continued influx. Nay, more, even the craftsmen of London could hardly live owing to the multitudinous presence of these adventurers, who, it was more than hinted, even endangered the public health by over-crowding the city. Thinking over all this, the deputy was not slow in discovering sure means by which the king could at once and for ever release himself from the urgent solicitations of his greedy courtiers, and save his capital, if not from pestilence, at all events from disease, the seeds of which the Scotsmen had imported along with themselves. Now, indeed, was the opportune moment to come to the king's aid; and what better way had his majesty of providing for the beggars who so teased him, than to parcel out among them the vast estates which Tyrone and Tyrconnel formerly possessed?

It is almost superfluous to state that Chichester, over and over again, invited the royal attention to this

expedient, taking special pains to persuade the sovereign that he could place no reliance on the word of the king of Spain, who had formerly, in the lifetime of the late queen, assisted Tyrone and O'Donel with forces by sea and land; and who, being now solicited by the pope, would do the same again, for the sake of repossessing the fugitives, and restoring the religion they professed in Ireland. To leave Ulster unsettled till the fugitives came back, would be a mistake involving most irreparable consequences; for the people would be only too anxious to rally round their old chieftains, and the more enthusiastically, when they were told that the pope blessed their banner, and the king of Spain was willing to aid them with money, ships, and munitions. The cogency of these arguments, if they may be so called, was acknowledged by the king; and he, therefore, resolved that Chichester should have his approval and sanction for whatsoever course he adopted to rid him of the solicitations of his parasites, and from what he dreaded still more, the doubtful issue of a conflict with the inhabitants of one province of his kingdom, whether assisted or not by Spanish swords or Spanish dollars.

Acting, therefore, on the discretionary powers given him, Chichester, after consulting his legal advisers, concluded that, in order to forward the king's interests with some specious show of equity, it was absolutely necessary to first indict the fugitives and their adherents of the treasons "of which," says sir John Davys, "*they found themselves guilty.*" The attorney-general, therefore, by command of the deputy, drew the bill of indictment in Dublin, and took it with him to the north, whither he proceeded with a long array of commissioners, clerks, sheriffs, and an imposing force of horse and foot. Their first session was at Lifford, in Donegal,

where a jury was impannelled of twenty-three Irishmen and ten Englishmen, with sir Cahir O'Dogherty for foreman, "who," says Davys, "next to the earl of Tyrconnel, hath the largest territories there." "The bill being read in English and Irish," continues the attorney-general, "evidence was given that their guilty consciences, and fear of losing their heads, was the cause of their flight." The latter, doubtless, was one of the many reasons that constrained them to go away; but as for the guilt of conscience, one cannot help being astonished at finding such an official usurping an arbitrament that belongs to God alone. Were guilty conscience a motive for flying one's country, Davys and many of his colleagues would, presuming they had a conscience, have found this world's limits too circumscribed for their wanderings. The jurors, however, although each and all—the foreman especially—hostile to Tyrone, made some difficulty about finding the bill, till sir John explained to them that an indictment was only an accusation. When, however, a question was raised about the monstrously absurd allegation that Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and their co-exiles meant to compass the death of the king, sir Arthur Chichester, and, mayhap, Davys himself, the jurors refused to find that clause of the bill true, till sir John was obliged, as he himself says, "to use a little rhetoric," that is, to have recourse to exaggerations and calumnies, the logic of liars. "Whoso," said he, doubtless with that mystery of body commonly known as gravity, which has been invented to conceal craft as well as dullness—"whoso would take the king's crown from his head, would likewise, if he could, take his head from his shoulders; and whoever would not suffer the king to reign, if it lay in his power, would not suffer the king to live." Bad as the jurors were, Davys found it hard to convince them of this, all his affected

emphasis notwithstanding; for it occurred to them that a man might take the hat off another's head, without intending to pull off his head along with it; nor could they see how moving a gilded chair from under a man, necessarily involved murderous purpose. Nevertheless. the rhetoric succeeded at Lifford, for sir John had made choice of a pliant jury. As for sir Cahir, who, unlike many other celebrities, has survived his apotheosis, he was then a zealot for English law, and the veriest creature of the attorney-general.

The commissioners held their next session at Strabane, where a similar jury was impannelled, with sir Henry Oge O'Neill, one of Tyrone's most implacable enemies, for foreman. The bill of indictment being read to them in English and Irish, they immediately found that Tyrone had treasonably taken upon him the name of "O'Neill," "for proof of which," says Davys, "we had only one warrant, written in Irish, wherein the earl commanded O'Quinn, his major-domo, to pay money thiswise: 'O'Neill bids O'Quinn to pay sixty pounds.'" But here a difficulty arose, when it was objected that said warrant was subscribed "Tyrone." The attorney-general, however, was not to be foiled; for he had evidence to prove, that when the earl was in the presence of Englishmen, he was content to be called earl; but when among his followers, he would be highly indignant, nay, offended, if he was not styled "O'Neill." As to the treasonable murders he had committed there could be no doubt for a note of them, probably made by Davys himself, "was put into my lord deputy's hand, as he was going to church a few days before the flight;" and surely no one could be impious enough to come between so devout a man and his prayers, with a list of charges that was not above all suspicion! Witnesses thereon were called to prove the

murders done by Tyrone, but they were the kinsfolk of those whom he, by virtue of the power with which he was invested, executed for various felonies. Nevertheless, the jury, like all those impannelled to indict a mere Irishman, found for the crown; and the attorney-general, overjoyed at the success of his "rhetoric," before dissolving the commission, waxed bland, and kindly assured them "that his majesty would thenceforth take the people of Ulster under his fatherly care, and protect them against the oppressions of their former lords, thinking nothing too good for them that the royal bounty could bestow." Sir Henry Oge O'Neill was duly complimented by the attorney-general for his loyalty, "civility," and other such attributes, which raised him so immeasurably above the level of people of his class; and the unhappy man was weak enough to swallow all this adulation, never reckoning that sir John would one day write, that it was "as natural for an Irish lord to be a thief, as it is for the devil to be a liar, of whom it was written he was a liar and a murderer from the beginning." Assuredly jury-packing, "rhetoric"—for which there is a well-known synonyme—and devout Scripture-quoting attorneys-general, are no novelties in Ireland.

There was only one thing wanting to make this proceeding a complete success, and that was the presence of O'Cahan, who, although urged by the deputy to attend the commissioners, refused to appear. This grieved the attorney-general; "for," says he, "I always proved myself O'Cahan's good friend in all suits between him and the earl of Tyrone." But O'Cahan had sulked, and fallen out with the bishop of Derry, who, he alleged, had done him wrong by seizing some of his lands, which the self-denying prelate asserted belonged to the Church. The attorney-general, however, fixed his eye on the re-

calcitrant, who, "as yet," he tells us, "had done no violent act, albeit he had a brother who was then playing 'the Robin Hood,' and with Donald Ballagh's connivance."

The chief business of the commission, however, was accomplished, for the indictment was returned into the King's Bench, whereupon process was speedily to issue, in order that the fugitives and their adherents might be attainted of treason. The names figuring on the face of the bill were: "Hugh, earl of Tyrone; Rory, earl of Tyrconnel; Caffar O'Donel, late of Droghedowna, county Donegal; Cuconnaught Maguire, Donel Oge O'Donel, Art Oge, Cormac O'Neill, Henry O'Neill, Henry Hovendon, Henry O'Hagan, Moriarty O'Quinn, John Bath, Christopher Plunket, John O'Punty O'Hagan,* Hugh O'Gallagher, Carragh O'Gallagher, John and Edmond Mac Davitt, Maurice O'Multully, Donogh O'Brien Mac Mahon, George Cashel, Teigue O'Keenan, and many other false traitors, who, by the instigation of the devil, did conspire and plot the destruction and death of the king, sir Arthur Chichester, &c., and did also conspire to seize, by force of arms, the castles of Athlone, Ballyshannon; Duncannon, county Wexford; Lifford, county Donegal; and with that intent did sail away in a ship, to bring in an army composed of foreigners to invade the kingdom of Ireland, to put the king to death, and to depose him from the style, titles, power, and government of the imperial crown." Here we have the informations of Howth and Delvin, manipulated by the attorney-general, and returned as a true bill by the incompetent and lying jurors of Strabane and Lifford. Davys lost no time in forwarding a copy of the indictment to lord Salisbury, but besought him, at the same time, to keep it secret;

* John O'Hagan of the purse, treasurer to the O'Neill.

"for," says he, "records of this value are never communicated, and I have promised to send your lordship this copy to give you full satisfaction touching this business." How thankful the lord secretary must have been for sir John's dexterity, persuasive rhetoric, and foresight!

Little, however, did the foreman of the Lifford jury imagine, that, before a quarter of a year should have elapsed, his own name was to figure in another bill of traitors to the crown of James I. Little did he think that the retributive justice of heaven was to overtake him, as it invariably does, sooner or later, openly or secretly, all those, the lowliest as well as the highest, who stain their souls with the crime of perjury. Such, however, was his doom; but before narrating the circumstances that led to his overthrow and final undoing, we deem it right to acquaint the reader with the antecedents of one who has hitherto been celebrated by Irish poets and prose writers as a martyr-patriot, simply because he was killed in rebellion.

On the death of sir John O'Dogherty, slain in 1600, Hugh Roe O'Donel caused his brother, Phelim Oge O'Dogherty, to be inaugurated prince of Inishowen, because Cahir, son of John, a boy then in his thirteenth year, was too young to command the sept. Now, this Cahir was fostered by the clan Mac Davitt; and the foremost men among them—Hugh Buidh, the yellow-haired, and Phelim Reagh, the freckled—were his foster-brothers, and consequently bound to him by all those ties so peculiar to the ancient Celtic tribes. The foster-brothers, deeming they were outraged by the preference given to Cahir's uncle, addressed themselves to sir Henry Docwra, governor of the English stations on the Foyle, and proposed that if he would maintain Cahir in opposition to O'Donel's nominee, and procure him letters-patent to hold Inishowen as his father had

held it, they, in return, would place the lad under his guardianship, and then yield service to the state, or, in other words, desert Phelim Oge. Docwra was overjoyed at the offer, and agreed to all the conditions made by the Mac Davitts, who foolishly went over, with their entire following, to fight under English colors. Docwra lost no time in proclaiming Cahir *the queen's* O'Dogherty, and had his patrimony, with certain reservations which we have already mentioned, restored to him, under the great seal of England. This divide-and-conquer policy of Docwra bore good fruit for the latter, and those base Mac Davitts were thenceforth his most energetic allies; to such a degree, that he himself acknowledges, that "without their aid it would have been impossible to have made that sure and steady progress in the wars he afterwards did." In justice to him, however, we must admit that he initiated young Cahir into all martial exercises, made him conversant with English statecraft and literature, never in the least interfering with his religious impressions, which were duly cultivated by a priest appointed to that duty. The boy grew up strong and comely; and before he reached his sixteenth year, signalized himself in sundry skirmishes against his father's allies. Indeed, Docwra, his preceptor in the art military, had reason to be proud of his valor and accomplishments; so much so, that he made distinguished mention of him in a despatch from the field of Augher, where Cormac Mac Baron, Tyrone's brother, was defeated by the queen's troops. "The country," wrote sir Henry, "was overgrown with ancient oak and coppice. O'Dogherty was with me, alighted when I did, kept me company in the greatest heat of the fight, behaved himself bravely, and with a great deal of love and affection; so much so, that I recommended him, at my next meeting with the lord deputy Mountjoy, for

the honor of knighthood, which was accordingly conferred on him."* This, surely, must have delighted those ill-favored Mac Davitts, who were so intent on ruining their unfortunate country. At length, when the war was terminated by O'Neill's submission, sir Cahir went to London, was received at court, and had a new grant of a large portion of his ancient inheritance. Returning to Ireland, he made the acquaintance of Mary, daughter of Christopher fourth viscount Gormanstown, and married her soon afterwards. He thus formed an alliance with one of the most ancient Catholic families of the pale, at all times remarkable for their loyalty to the English crown; and king James was well pleased with such an auspicious union.

Returning to Inishowen with his young bride, sir Cahir resided generally in the castle of Elagh, lately re-edified, and occasionally in those of Burt and Buncrana, where he kept the state of a prince, not, indeed, after the fashion of his forefathers, but as he had been taught by sir Henry Docwra, like an English nobleman of the period, hunting the red deer in his forests, fishing and hawking, as was meet for the lord of that beautiful promontory, bounded by the Foyle, Lough Swilly, and the Atlantic. Harte, the castellan of Culmore; Nial Garve O'Donel, then a special favorite of the crown; Vaughan, Babington, and Paulet, governor of Derry, were his familiar associates; but the links of fosterage were as strong as ever, and consequently the Mac Davitts exercised unlimited control over the semi-Anglicised lord of Inishowen.

Traditional veneration has hitherto been bestowed on the memory of sir Cahir O'Dogherty; but, in clearing away illusions, we substitute real characteristics, and

* Docwra's Narrative.

discover that he was one of the many who can have no lasting claim to our respect or sympathies. He deserves neither; and future history will, doubtless, pronounce the same verdict on many figuring as celebrities in our days, when time shall have dimmed the artificial halo wherewith imagination now encircles them.

With all these advantages of wealth and social position, one would expect that sir Cahir had no just reason for being discontented; but, it appears that, about a month after he had presided as foreman of the Lifford jury, some one informed the deputy that he meditated leaving Ireland without the proper licence, which was then a treasonable offence. The deputy thereon summoned him to Dublin, where lord Gormanstown, Thomas Fitzwilliams, of Merrion, and sir Cahir himself, entered into recognizances, the said lord and Fitzwilliams for 50 marks Irish each, and sir Cahir himself for £1,000 English, to be levied off their goods, cattle, lands, &c., upon the following conditions, namely; that if the said Cahir shall not depart this realm before the feast of Easter twelve months, without the deputy's licence; and also, if at all times, within the time before specified, the said Cahir shall make his personal appearance before the deputy, upon twenty days' warning, to be given in writing at his own house at Elagh, or at the dwelling-house of Babington in Derry, and shall not depart without the like special notice; then this recognizance to be void, otherwise to stand in full force. It was also stipulated that a letter of warning for sir Cahir's appearance should be sent one month before, either to Gormanstown Castle, or to Fitzwilliams', at Merrion, under the hand of the deputy or other chief governor. Whether this obligation on his own, father-in-law's, and Fitwilliams' part, caused sir Cahir to abandon the

project of quitting Ireland, does not appear; but it is certain that, at the beginning of April, 1608, he was at Lifford, with sir Richard Hansard, captain Harte, Vaughan, Babington,* and others, where he sold 3,000 acres of land to the former, who intended to inhabit same with English. To perfect the sale, it was necessary that sir Cahir and Harte should appear before Paulet, to have his signature affixed to the deed of transfer; and while this was being done, O'Dogherty, it seems, made some observation so offensive, that the governor struck him violently with his clenched fist.† The young chieftain, instead of returning the blow, hurried away to his *advisers*, the Mac Davitts, related what had occurred, and was told by them that nothing but blood could wipe out such an insult. The people of Inishowen were soon made acquainted with Paulet's conduct, and declared that they were ready to resent it whenever sir Cahir gave them the signal. Meanwhile the whole affair was communicated to the deputy, who, apprehending that sir Cahir "would go into action"—the very thing he wished most of all—despatched a letter, summoning him to appear in Dublin, "to free himself of certain rumors and reports touching disloyal courses into which

* The Babingtons came to Derry with sir Henry Docwra, and are still represented by a most respectable family in the same city.

† The violence of Paulet's character is alluded to in the answer of sir W. Cole to the informations of sir F. Hamilton, addressed to the lords of the committees of both kingdoms, dated 11th January, 1644:

"And as touching the government of Londonderry aforesaid, this respondent humbly desires leave to declare, that once it was conferred upon sir George Paulet, a man whose temper in some things was much unlike this of the informer's, whose passionate demeanor in his office was not only the occasion of the loss of his own life, but of the loss also of the lives of many of this nation there, and the burning of that town, with the kindling of a violent, though, as it happened, but a short rebellion, in the country thereabouts, which did put the state there to much unnecessary expenses in the suppressing of it."

he had entered, contrary to his allegiance to the king, and threatening the overthrow of many of his majesty's good subjects." He also wrote to lord Gormanstown and Fitzwilliams, requiring them to bring in sir Cahir's body ; and the messenger, Fitzgarret, made affidavit that he had delivered the letters at Gormanstown Castle, and to Fitzwilliams, "at the cross in Stephen's green, Dublin." The summons to sir Cahir was read at his house of Elagh, and also at the residence of Babington, called the "Half-burnt House," in Derry ; but he positively refused to enter an appearance, or in any way comply with the deputy's order. Instead of doing so, he took counsel secretly with Nial Garve O'Donel, who, like every villain of his sort, thinking he had not been rewarded according to the full measure of his deserts, advised him to seize Culmore, Castle Doe, and other strong places, and then to march on Derry, and massacre the English settlers in the market-square. The Mac Davitts approved this plan of campaign ; and the unhappy sir Cahir, yielding to the influences of his bloody-minded foster-brothers, agreed to carry it into execution as best he could. Reckless of all consequences, both as regarded himself and those who were leagued with him, he resolved to risk everything on this wild enterprise, little heeding that the fugitive earls, who, about the same period, were approaching the walls of Rome, were afterwards to be stigmatized as his abettors and setters-on.

Nial Garve promised for himself that he would not fail to lend a hand in the business as soon as it had made progress ; but he alleged, as reason for holding aloof till then, that he was striving "to steal away" his son from Dublin, where he was held as hostage for his good behavior. O'Dogherty, believing this, despatched a trusty messenger to his brother-in-law, O'Hanlon, son

of the chief of that name, acquainting him with his project, and inviting him to come to his assistance, with as many armed followers as he could raise. What special reason young O'Hanlon had for involving himself in this disastrous affair, does not appear; but he sent sir Cahir word that he would make his way to Inishowen, and take part in the projected rising. But as nothing could be effected till the latter had armed some of his followers, it was suggested that he should lose no time in seizing the fort of Culmore. Let us now see how this ill-advised young man effected his purpose.

Towards the close of April, sir Cahir invited captain Harte, governor of Culmore, his wife and infant child, O'Dogherty's godson, to dinner, in the castle of Elagh, where they were long and sumptuously entertained. Dinner over, said Cahir led Harte into an inner apartment, and there told him that the blow he had received from Paulet demanded a bloody revenge. Harte remonstrated; but no sooner was his voice heard by O'Dogherty's retainers, who were concealed in another room, than they rushed in, and, drawing their swords and skeines, commanded the terrified castellan to deliver Culmore into their hands, if he did not wish to see his wife and child slain in his presence. Harte, however, was inflexible; and sir Cahir, thinking that a few hours reflection might induce him to surrender his trust, motioned his followers to retire, and then leaving the chamber, locked the door on his prisoner. At the expiration of two hours he returned, and finding Harte nowise inclined to comply with his demand, he grew furious, so much so, that the loud, angry tone in which he vented his rage, was distinctly heard by the two ladies—his own and Harte's wife. The latter, suspecting that some foul play was meant her husband,

forced her way into the room, where she found him face to face with O'Dogherty, who was urging his demand with a naked sword pointed at the captain's throat. Seeing this, she fell on the floor in a swoon, like one struck dead, till lady O'Dogherty, who had come to her assistance, raised her up, and told her she had no complicity in her husband's rash design. Maddened by this avowal, sir Cahir thrust his wife and captain Harte down the stairs, commanding his men, who were on the alert below, to seize the former. Lady Harte, being kept back by sir Cahir, now fell on her knees to implore mercy for all she held dearest; but instead of being placated by her entreaty, he solemnly swore that she, her husband and infant, should be butchered on the instant, if Culmore was not surrendered to him that very night. Horrified by this menace, she consented to accompany him and his men to the fort, where they arrived about midnight. On giving the password, the gate was thrown open by the warder, whose suspicions were lulled when lady Harte told him that her husband had broken his arm, and was then lying ill in sir Cahir's house. The parley was short, and the followers of sir Cahir, rushing into the bawn, fell on the sleeping garrison, slaughtered them in their beds, and then made their way to an upper apartment, where lady Harte's brother, recently come from England, was fast asleep. Fearing that he might get a bloody blanket for his shroud, lady Harte followed them into the room, and implored the young man to offer no resistance to the Irish, who broke open trunks, presses, and other furniture, and seized whatever valuables they could clutch. Her thoughtfulness saved the lives of her children and brother; for as soon as sir Cahir had armed his followers with matchlocks and powder out of the magazine, he left a small detachment to garrison Culmore, and then

marched rapidly on Derry, where he arrived about two o'clock in the morning. Totally unprepared for such an irruption, the town's-folk were roused from their sleep by the bagpipes and war-shout of the clan O'Dogherty, who rushed into the streets, and made their way to Paulet's house, where sir Cahir, still smarting under the indignity of the angry blow, satisfied his vow of vengeance, by causing that unhappy gentleman to be hacked to death with the pikes and skeines of Owen O'Dogherty and others of his kindred. After plundering the residences of the more opulent inhabitants, seizing such arms as they could find, and reducing the young town to a heap of ashes, sir Cahir led his followers to the palace of Montgomery, the bishop, who, fortunately for himself, was then absent in Dublin. Not finding him they captured his wife, and sent her under escort to Burt Castle, whither lady O'Dogherty, her sister-in-law, and infant daughter, had gone, with warders for their protection. It was on this occasion that Phelim MacDavitt got into Montgomery's library, and set fire to it, thus destroying hundreds of valuable volumes, printed and manuscript, a feat for which he is not censured—we are sorry to have to acknowledge it—by Philip O'Sullivan, in his account of the fact.* Elated by this successful raid, sir Cahir called off his followers, and proceeded to beleaguer Lifford, where there was a small garrison of English, who could not be induced to surrender, although suffering severely for want of provisions. Finding all his attempts to reduce the place ineffectual, he sent for the small force he had left in Culmore to join the main body of his partizans, and them marched into M'Swyne Doe's (na Tuath's) country, leaving his wife, sister, daughter, and bishop Montgomery's wife, in Burt

Castle, with, as he thought, sufficient ward for maintaining that stronghold. Meantime, news of this ill-omened outbreak, that could not show a single element of trust or solidity, reached Dublin; and the lord deputy took speedy measures to suppress it. He immediately sent a force of 3,000 men,* commanded by sir Richard Wingfield, sir Thomas Roper, sir Toby Caulfield, sir R. Moryson, sir Francis Rush, and Josias Bodley, with instructions to pursue the revolted Irish into their fastnesses, and deal with them summarily. He himself set out to act with the troops; and, on reaching Dundalk, published a proclamation,† in which he offered pardon to all who laid down their arms, or would use them in killing their associates. He took care, however, to except Phelim MacDavitt from all hope of mercy, consigning him to be dealt with by a military tribunal. The English force, in the interval, had made their way into O'Dogherty's country, and, coming before Culmore, found it abandoned by the Irish, who, unable to carry off the heavy guns, took the precaution of burying them in the sea. With Culmore for the base of their operations, and amply supplied with provisions by sir Ralph Bingley, who commanded a ship of war in the Foyle, detachments of "stript men" were sent out to pursue sir Cahir, who, it was surmised, had gone to Doe Castle, then deemed a place of considerable strength; while another party, under the immediate command of sir Richard Wingfield, marched on Burt Castle, which surrendered without a blow struck. Wingfield immediately liberated the inmates, and sent bishop Montgomery's wife to her

* A great many of these were Catholics, and, among the rest, sir Henry Oge O'Neill, Tyrone's adversary, who was killed in action.

† See Appendix.

husband, and lady O'Dogherty, her infant daughter and sister-in-law, to Dublin Castle. As for sir Cahir, instead of going to Castle Doe, he resolved to cross the path of the English on their march to that place; and, coming up with them in the vicinity of Kilmacrenan, he commenced a skirmish with the detachment under sir Francis Rush, when he was shot through the brain by a soldier of that officer's company. The death of the young chieftain spread panic among his followers, most of whom flung away their arms, betook themselves to flight, and were unmercifully cut down; but, in the scuffle for his corse,* be it told to the honor of his foster-brother, an eye-witness assures us that Phelim Reagh "*bestrid it*," and never abandoned it till the instinct of self-preservation urged him to provide for his own safety. Sir Cahir's head was immediately struck off, and sent to Dublin, where, it is likely, his young widow† may have gazed long and wistfully at it, as it decomposed in the July sun, "on a pole on the east gate of the city, called Newgate."‡

Sir Cahir left no son, nor have we been able to ascertain what was the fate of his infant daughter. He had, however, two brothers, John and Rory, both very young, and residing at the time of the insurrection with their foster-father, O'Rourke, chief of his name in Leitrim. This accident may have saved them from

* It was buried near the Rock of Doon.

† She subsequently married Anthony, son of sir W. Warren, of Warrenstown, King's county, and had a grant of £80 a year during life. P. R. of James I., 12th year.

‡ According to sir John Davys, O'Dogherty's death happened on the 8th of July, and on a *Tuesday*, "but the Tuesday eleven weeks, *i.e.*, 77 days after the burning of Derry; which," remarks the attorney-general, "since is an ominous number, being seven elevens and eleven sevens." According to Giraldus Cambrensis, *Tuesday* was ever a fortunate day in the conquest of Ireland.

the sword of Chichester, or, at all events, from being consigned to the tutelage of such a distinguished zealot as sir Toby Caulfield, who, doubtless, would have taught them everything but love of their forefathers' religion and country. Happily for them, however, they were carefully warded by the O'Rourke, till they reached man's estate, when Rory took service in the army of the archdukes. He, it would appear, died in Belgium; but it is likely enough, that the blood of John, sir Cahir's eldest brother, still survives in Spain, the land of Milesius, from whom the bards and senachies of old were wont to derive the high and puissant lineage of the O'Doghertys, lords of Inishowen. A pedigree, preserved in the Office of Arms, Dublin Castle, would seem to warrant this conjecture, and we, therefore, insert it here as we have found it in the original record:

"Sir Cahir, slain 1608, had two brothers, John and Rory. The latter dying, as we have already said, John became the chief of his name, and *m.* Eliza, *d.* of Patrick O'Cahan, of Derry, and died 1638, leaving three sons, John, Owen, and William. Owen *m.* 1638, Mary *d.* of sir Constantine O'Rourke, and had by her Cahir, a minor at the time of his father's death. In 1667, said Cahir *m.* Brigid, *d.* of Miles O'Reilly, of Drum, county Cavan, and had by her Cahir and Owen, the former of whom died 1732. In 1751, Owen *m.* the *d.* of Henry O'Cassidy, M.D., of Louth, and had by her John O'Dogherty, who died 1762. In 1741, John *m.* Mary, *d.* of R. O'Kelly, county Cavan, by whom he had two sons, one of whom died in childhood. Cahir the second son, who died 1784, *m.* Jane, *d.* of J. Brown, Graigue, county Carlow, by whom he had three sons, Henry, John, and Clinton-Dillon O'Dogherty, all three under age, and residing in Spain under tuition of their uncle, Henry O'Dogherty, D.D., who retired with them thither. Said Henry, in

early life, went to Paris to study medicine, but took holy orders and the degree of doctor of theology in the far-famed school of Sorbonne, and was subsequently parish-priest of Trim, and vicar-general of the diocese of Meath, but resigned his preferments and went to live in Spain, where there was a fair field for the genius and prowess of Irish papists who could not succeed in their own country."*

It was now all over with the princely house of Inishowen, and thenceforth Elagh, Burt, and Buncrana, with their loughs, teeming glebes, and forests of oak, were to know their ancient lords no more. The chief being prematurely cut off, the remnant of the clan O'Dogherty were, by Chichester's orders, driven to the mountain fastnesses, and suffered to remain there till he had found some other way of getting rid of them for ever. He himself had set his heart on obtaining a grant of O'Dogherty's lands, but his holding might be imperilled were he to suffer "idle kerne and swordsmen" to bide

* This pedigree is certified by Fortescue, Ulster King-of-Arms November 4, 1790, and also by an archbishop, two bishops, and lord Fingall, whose attestations run thus: "Nos infrascripti testimonio nixi virorum fide dignorum omnibus notum facimus supradictam genealogiam authenticam esse. In castro de Killeen, 28 Sept., 1790. P. Plunket, episcopus Midensis. Comes de Fingall. Hugo O'Reilly, episcopus Clogherensis, 29 Sept. F. J. T. Troy, O. P. Dei et S. S. gratia archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, Hib. primas et metropolitanus. Omnibus quorum interest aut interesse possit notum facimus tabulam genealogicam ex monumentis authenticis exscriptam in omnibus genuinam esse; necnon retroscriptos præsulus et illustrissimum comitem de Fingall propriis manibus eidem subscripsisse, sigillaque respectiva apposuisse. Quapropter iisdem uti retro asserentibus omnimodam fidem adhibendam esse testamur. In quorum pleniorem fidem hasce a nobis ipsis manu propriâ scriptas et subscriptas sigilloque nostro pontificali muniri jussimus. Dublinii, 21 Oct. 1790. Consecrationis nostræ A. 14, plenioris vero pontificalis inaugurationis A. 4. "F. J. Troy, archiepiscopus Dubliniensis."

there as his tenants. What, then, was he to do with them, or rather how was he to clear them out? His counsellors, Davys and Caulfield, solved the difficulty, by advising him to seize the able-bodied peasantry, and send them off by hundreds to perish in Livonia and Russia, under the banners of Gustavus Adolphus, then fighting the battle of Protestantism against the Catholic house of Austria. Chichester adopted the suggestion, appointed Caulfield to the place of muster-master; and, as sir John Davys tells us, swept Inishowen of six thousand of its inhabitants, who were thus inhumanly compelled to shed their blood in a cause which their consciences could not have approved. Caulfield was largely rewarded for his services in this instance; and a captain Sandford, married to the niece of the first earl of Charlemont, had a large grant of lands in consideration "of services done to the crown by conducting" —a euphuism for impressing—"loose Irish kerne and swordsmen of Donegal for the king of Sweden."*

As matter of course, the vengeance of the law followed speedily the extinction of this miserable out-

* Sir Toby made a considerable sum of money by feeding the unfortunate men destined for Gustavus Adolphus, and seems to have kept his account with the minuteness of a huxter. Thus: "For the dyett of 80 of said soldiers for 16 daies, during which tyme they were kept in prison in Dungannon till they were sent away, at iiii^{d} *le peece* per diem; allso for the dyett of 72 of said men kept in prison at Armagh till they were sent away to *Swethen*, at iiii^{d} *le peece* per diem," &c., &c. Sir Toby, doubtless, wished to send his victims in good condition to the Swedish shambles. This system of "clearing out" the native Irish was continued till 1629, when we find lord deputy Falkland writing to lord Kilultagh, that sir George Hamilton, a papist, then impressing soldiers in Tyrone and Antrim for the Danish king's service, was opposed by one O'Cullenan, a priest, who advised the people to stay at home. The priest was arrested, and committed to Dublin Castle, where, after being racked, he was hanged for telling his flock to have nothing to do with the Danish

break—contemptible in all its aspects—and many of the most prominent leaders were instantly executed by sentence of courts-martial. Some, however, were reserved to be tried by course of common law, and among these was O'Hanlon, sir Cahir's brother-in-law, to whom he had brought one hundred of his followers. The unfortunate young man, surnamed "Eoghy," or the Cavalier, was arraigned in Armagh, convicted and hanged. He had risked all that life holds dearest on this wretched enterprise, nor is it unlikely that he would have died without regret, had not his last moments been embittered by the sad fate of his youthful wife, "who was found by one of the deputy's soldiers stript of her apparel in a wood, where she perished of cold and hunger, being lately before delivered of a child."* Mac Davitt, sir Cahir's evil genius, or, as sir John Davys calls him, "the firebrand of the rebellion," was subjected to the mockery of trial in Derry, convicted and executed. Indeed, it was unnecessary to have tried him, for, as we have already said, he was excepted from all hope of life by the deputy's proclamation. O'Sullivan† represents him as a martyr and confessor; but the account he gives of his closing scene is fancifully overcolored, and just as reliable as the speeches which pagan authors have made their heroes utter at a time when stenography was unknown. He died, it is true, in the faith of his fathers, nor is it probable he would have accepted life had it been offered him as the reward of

king's wars. We may also add that Wallenstein offered Walter Butler £30,000 on condition that he went to Ireland, and raised troops for the imperial service; but he refused, alleging "that poor Ireland had been already too much drained of her men."—See Harte's Gustavus Adolphus, vol. ii. p. 251.

* O'Hanlon's grown sons were sent to the army of the king of Sweden.

† Hist. Cath. Hib.

apostacy, although prompted by the terror of a dreadful doom. Instead, therefore, of examining the claims he may have had to the martyr's palm, let us rather hope that his constancy in the faith expiated the crime he committed, by consigning his ill-fated foster-brother to the tutelage of sir Henry Docwra. A heavy weight of guilt rested on his soul for this disgraceful act, dictated by petty ambition; for he must have known that he was entrusting the boy to one who, if he did not warp him from his religion, was sure to bring him up a despiser of his country, which had the next claim to his tenderest affections. When did English pedagogue ever teach Irish youth otherwise?

At the sessions held in Dungannon, Shane Carragh O'Cahan was found guilty by a jury of his *kinsmen*, and executed in the camp. His head, says sir John Davys, was set upon the castle of Dungannon—the castle from which his brother was mainly instrumental in driving its once potent lord into exile! In the same place a monk, who was a chief adviser of sir Cahir, and was arrested in Burt Castle, tore off his religious habit, and renounced his obedience to the pope; whereupon the lord deputy gave him his life and liberty. There were, however, others of his calling who refused to pay such a price for life or repentance, and among them was Shane O'Cahan's chaplain, who challenged the jurisdiction of a secular tribunal, when he was arraigned in Coleraine. The objection, however, was overruled, and he died as became him. The people, says Davys, saw that point of doctrine falsified by his judgment and execution, and were thus taught better doctrine by the example of his death, than he had done in all his life before. Indeed, the clergy, secular and regular, of Inishowen, were most cruelly treated at this period by Chichester and his myrmidons; and each and all of

them might have saved their lives by swearing the oath of supremacy. Father Donatus M'Cready, for example, was offered life and liberty on this condition, but he spurned the proposal, and died true to his faith. Another, a man of tougher muscle, and Provincial of the Irish Franciscans, name O'Mullarky, being arrested by an English captain, and knowing that his constancy would be tempted were he unlucky enough to fall into the hands of such a theologian as Chichester, felled his captor with a sword-thrust, and, while the officer lay prostrate, gave him the option of either fighting it out there and then—for O'Mullarky, too, could play at the carnal weapon—or letting him go about his business. The captain prudently chose the blunter horn of the dilemma, and the Provincial escaped to Spain, where he wrote a narrative of his adventures, which O'Sullivan says he read in manuscript.

The incidents we have related are, with few exceptions, sad and humiliating; but they become suggestive when we learn, on the authority of an eye-witness, that no day passed without the killing and taking some of the dispersed rebels—one betraying another to get his own pardon and the goods of the party betrayed, according to the proviso so adroitly inserted in the deputy's proclamation. Nor was there lack of informers to make the executive acquainted with the complicity, either overt or underhand, of those who sympathised with the ill-fated insurrection. In fact, the deputy and his agents had more delators than they could compensate, and some of this calling held social position, which might have saved them from suspicion of descending to the ignoble level of caterers to the executioner and the jailor. Yet such was the fact; for we find, among others who distinguished themselves in this rôle, Ineenduv—the dark lady—mother of

Hugh Roe O'Donel, and Rory, earl of Tyrconnel, sending informations to bishop Montgomery, and accusing Nial Garve, her son-in-law, of complicity in sir Cahir O'Dogherty's revolt. Chichester thought well of her revelation, and, in consideration thereof, bestowed on her some hundred acres in the vicinity of Kilmacrenan, where her once potent son was inaugurated chief of his sept and lord of Tyrconnel. In extenuation of her conduct, we may reasonably assume that she was actuated by a feeling of mortal hatred to Nial, whose defection humbled her adopted country,* and helped to drive her noble sons into exile—the one to find a grave in Valladolid, and the other to dree the short life of a state mendicant in Rome. Be that as it may, we can afford no commiseration for the object of her animosity, but rather suppose that every true Irish heart rejoiced when sir Richard Wingfield† arrested Nial Garve, his son Naghtan, and his two brothers. The same officer also arrested Donald Ballagh O'Cahan; for although it could not be proved that he had acted overtly in sir Cahir's wild raid, it was nevertheless certain that he sympathised with it, in the hope of shaking off the bishop of Derry, whose unholy greed of gain compassed his final ruin.

The insurrection having been extinguished, and the entire peninsula of Inishowen overrun and wasted by the king's troops, sir Arthur Chichester, attended by a numerous retinue, comprising his attorney-general and under-sheriffs,‡ lawyers, provosts-marshal, engineers, and geographers, set out on a "progress" to explore the fast-

* She was daughter of MacDonald, lord of the Isles.

† In 1609 he had a grant of the lands of Powerscourt, county Wicklow, extending over five miles in length and five in breadth. In 1610 he had an additional grant of 2,000 acres in the county Tyrone.

‡ Sir John Davys describes the under-sheriffs as "better guides and

ness which, during the late war with the earl of Tyrone, the English forces never ventured to penetrate. "As we passed through the glens and forests of Glenconkeine," says the observant attorney-general, "the wild inhabitants did as much wonder to see the king's deputy, as the ghosts in Virgil did to see Eneas alive in hell." But the progress was of vast importance to the king's interests, for the deputy and his officers made themselves thoroughly acquainted with all the intricacies of those celebrated defiles, and thus taught the inhabitants that they could never again presume more upon English ignorance of their country than upon their own strength. But the most important announcement which the attorney-general had to make was, "that before Michaelmas he would be ready to present to his majesty a perfect survey of six whole counties, which he now hath in actual possession in the province of Ulster—a greater extent of land than any prince in Europe hath in his own hands to dispose of," or, in other words, to wrest from the natives, for the benefit of court expectants and parasites. By way of warning the cabinet against a repetition of the failure of former English colonies in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, which were either uprooted by the Irish, or grew to be more Irish than the Irish themselves, the attorney-general concludes that either alternative must recur, "if the number of

spies in time of peace than they were found in time of war." According to the same authority, the profession of geographer or surveyor was, in his time, one of considerable peril; for he tells us that "our geographers did not forget what entertainment the Irish of Tyrconnel gave to a map-maker about the end of the late great rebellion, when one Barkley, being appointed by lord Devonshire to draw a perfect map of the north parts of Ulster, when he came into Tyrconnel, had his head taken off by the inhabitants, because they would not have their country discovered," *i.e.*, surveyed for the benefit of those who were to supplant them.

the Scotch and English who were to come to Ireland do not much exceed that of the natives, who will quickly "overgrow them as weeds overgrow good corn."

There was little reason, however, for supposing that Chichester would suffer such a state of things to be realized in any part of Ulster, and least of all in Inishowen, the entire of which, with all the hereditaments thereof, possessed either by sir John O'Dogherty, or the late traitor, Cahir O'Dogherty, with the exception of certain lands allotted to bishop Montgomery, and the several Protestant incumbents in said country, was destined to become his property and that of his heirs in fee-simple for ever. Indeed, sir Arthur was the least likely man in the world to tolerate, in his plantations, such rank weeds as the mere Irish, when it cost him so little trouble to outroot them either by fire or by sword. The destruction of the native Irish afforded him a species of infernal delight, of which he was not ashamed to leave us proof in various letters, thus :—"I have often said and written it is famine that must consume the Irish, as our swords and other endeavors work not that speedy effect which is expected.—Hunger would be a better, because a speedier weapon to employ against them than the sword." Who but a stolid monster could transmit to posterity such an account of himself as we find in the following, taken from a letter penned by his unmerciful hand :—"I burned all along the lough [Neagh], within four miles of Dungannon, and killed one hundred people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides many burned to death. We killed man, woman, and child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we could find."

Having completed the work that took him to the north, the deputy returned to Dublin, bringing with him, among other prisoners, Nial Garve and Donald Ballagh O'Cahan, who were at once immured in the

Castle. Arrived in the metropolis, the Anglican archbishop Jones, with his clergy and the municipal authorities, hastened to compliment his Excellency on the signal success he had achieved over some hundreds of badly-armed, undisciplined kernes, whom their heated imaginations represented as a numerous, well-organized army. It was not Chichester's interest to dispel the illusion, and he therefore professed himself highly gratified with the exaggerations of his sycophants. But in order that his prowess and military skill might bear comparison with that of the most famous captains of his time, a subaltern, too modest to give his name, wrote a memoir of the late campaign, in which he lauded the deputy to the skies, and enhanced the value of his lucubration by representing on its title-page a grim tower with portcullis, and unfortunate sir Cahir's head impaled in the central embrasure. Every line of that most rare work, entitled "The Overthrow of an Irish Rebel,"* is a vivid reflex of the anti-Irish prejudices of the period, and we therefore reproduce a passage of it here for the reader's gratification:—"As for Tyrone and Tyrconnel, they are already fled from their coverts, and I hope they will never return; and for other false hearts, the chief of note, as O'Cahan, sir Nial Garve, and his two brothers, with others of their condition, they have holes provided for them in the castle of Dublin, where I hope they are safe enough from breeding any cubs to disquiet and prey upon the flock of honest subjects."

Reverting to sir Cahir O'Dogherty's rash conduct, with which the fugitive earls have been identified by the generality of writers, who, in reality, knew hardly anything about it, we may not omit to state again that O'Neill and O'Donel had no complicity with that ill-

* There is a copy of it in the MS. Room, T. C. D.

timed and foolhardy outbreak. We have already seen that they were on their road to Rome when it was commenced, and that soon after their arrival there, when O'Dogherty was in arms, O'Donel and his brother were hopelessly ill of fever, which ultimately carried them off. In the presence of such awful circumstances, it is not at all likely that O'Neill would have concerned himself with the misdoings of sir Cahir or Nial Garve, for neither of whom he could have entertained any feeling but contempt and abhorrence. Nevertheless, Chichester pretended to believe that the rising in Inishowen was only the prelude to a general insurrection throughout the whole island, where, when the first act was played out, O'Neill was sure to debark with aids obtained from the king of Spain, at the urgent instance of Paul V. Now, in order to impose on the credulous, and to show that his foresight was far reaching, as became a statesman, Chichester caused the haven of Cork to be "laid," and all suspects coming thither from beyond seas to be arrested, and brought before sir Dominic Sarsfield, by whom they were to be closely interrogated touching their experiences abroad. The deputy's officers were punctual in carrying his order into effect, and seized, amongst others, one Teigue O'Falvey, who, as he himself relates, had just returned from France, whither he was driven from Spain, after living there on "the devotion" of alms-givers. A roving fellow of this sort, who, we may presume, had he told the whole truth, would have admitted that he got a livelihood, not by the *devotion*, but rather by the credulity of his dupes, must doubtless have heard what the Irish at Rome and in Spain thought of sir Cahir's enterprise, and he was accordingly subjected to a severe examination, which, along with other incidents, gives us to understand that begging at the doors of foreign potentates was no unusual experiment with the Irish, and that the

extradition of paupers is not an invention of our economical times.

"*The Examination of Teigue O'Falvey, lately come out of Spain, taken before me at Cork, this* 12*th day of September*, 1608.

"He saith that first he went out of this country into France to beg for his living, as many of the Irish have done; and finding that some direction came to the officers of that kingdom to see the beggars transported to their country, he took shipping from St. Malo's into Spain.

"He saith that he lived this last two years in the Groyen* and thereabouts, upon the devotion of the people.

"He saith that the Irish gentlemen dwelling in that city were for a long time neglected by the king of Spain, as well in their wonted graces from him as in their pensions; but now they are all full paid of what arrears they can challenge.

"He saith that Tyrone was at Rome upon his coming away, and has a man of his in the Spanish court, who had great access and hearing of the king and council. He knoweth not this agent's name, but saith that all the Irish about the Groyen spoke much good of him for his wisdom and carriage, and conceive assured hope of his doing much good in their general cause, which they think depends on the success of his solicitation.

"He saith that this agent was accompanied with letters of commendation out of Rome for his business, and had great allowance with the princes of Italy in his travails.

* Corunna

"He saith that there is a great fleet of shipping now to be furnished out, to which purpose the armadas of Galicia and Portugal were sent for to come to the Groyen.

"He saith that all the Irish are hopeful of their coming for Ireland very shortly.

"He saith that there is so great store of rusk to be baked, and such means made for the levy of men, as draws an extraordinary great charge upon the king, and many ears to hearken to the purpose thereof; but the people do bear their burden in this matter with more alacrity than they were wont in the former preparations.

"He saith that O'Sullivan hath some late command put upon him, which makes him to be much more retired to his house than he had been formerly, and more frequented by Spaniards and Irish than ever he was since his first coming to that country.

"He saith that there is a great store of money collected in all the ports and principal places of Spain for Tyrone, and that the duke of Florence made a great gathering for him in all his country.

"He saith that foreigners do much more speak of the possibility to recover Ireland now than at any of the former times, private discontentments, which might be removed with conditions, drawing the people to the former rebellion; but now the great actors of this matter being without hope of any conditions, will make another manner of war for recovery of their estates, under pretence of the cause of religion, than was ever heard of before in this kingdom.

"He saith that in the public services of the Irish priests, they use some execrations and bannings against many persons, and by special name against the lord deputy of Ireland.

"He saith that he is the most hateful man to the Ulster people that ever was; and that upon a rumor that his majesty had resolved to send some nobleman of England to be lord deputy of this kingdom, they rejoiced much thereof; but the same report, carrying with it assurance that the now lord deputy was to be established president of the north, they held that to be far worse for them than remaining as he doth.

"He saith that the rebellion of O'Dogherty was much applauded by all the Irish, but not well approved by Tyrone, who disliked much the untimeliness thereof, being well assured that the Derry might be well surprised when Tyrone should please.

"He saith that he did not hear of the death of O'Dogherty in Spain, but heard of some distress he was in, which makes the Irish to wish the hastening of some succors unto him, as pitying his good beginnings should not be well followed.

"He saith that the taking of sir Nial Garve is much lamented in Spain, and the manner thereof bruited to be treacherous; but, however, his being in restraint, and O'Cahan's imprisonment, do put the busy heads in Spain to many consultations, and doth much weaken the purpose of Tyrone, whatever will come thereof.

"DOMINIC SARSFIELD."

CHAPTER IX.

PAINFUL beyond all description were the recollections that must have crowded on O'Cahan in the donjon of Dublin Castle, while he brooded over the incidents of a career that proved so disastrous to himself, and was destined to involve his latest posterity in ruin. We can well conceive with what bitterness he cursed the day that saw him go over to Chichester, after abandoning his rightful lord; but especially that worst of all days in his whole life, when he lent himself to the wily designs of the pseudo-bishop of Derry, who lured him on, step by step, to his final undoing. The last time he saw his fair mansion of Limavady, towering above the rapid Roe, an Inquisition was sitting there, and its halls were thronged by commissioners, among the rest sir John Davys, Usher, the Anglican primate, bishop Montgomery, and others, who found, after a survey of the whole county of Tyrone, that all the lands therein were forfeited to the crown by the outlawry of the earl thereof. A similar verdict was returned by another Inquisition, which declared that all the lands in Tyrconnel were now vested in the king, partly by the outlawry of the late earl Rory, and partly by the rebellion of sir Cahir O'Dogherty. The announcement of this finding was made to the unhappy O'Cahan in Dublin Castle, where, doubtless, he was convinced of

the truth of the adage, "*Dii laneos habent pedes;*" for meet retribution overtook him with noiseless foot-fall, and when he least expected it. It was also signified to him that he was suspected of having aided the flight of the earls, and covertly assisted O'Dogherty's revolt. Neither assertion, however, was true; for the earls despised him, and O'Dogherty, rash and unreflecting as he was, would not have trusted him. At all events, if, during the first months of his imprisonment, he ever indulged the dream of being restored to any portion of his lands, in consideration of former baseness, or, in other words, "services rendered to the crown," he was speedily undeceived; for the Limavady commissioners had an old trenchant weapon suspended above his head—the statute of 11th Elizabeth, passed, probably, before he was born, and repealed, as he fancied, by the pardon which the king, on his accession, granted to the earl of Tyrone. Contrary to his forecastings, however, that statute was pronounced to have a retrospective effect; and it was thereon declared that all O'Cahan's country was in actual possession of the crown by the said act of resumption, since the passing of which, O'Cahan, and all who lived under him, had no estate whatever in the lands, and were simply intruders. Certain parcels of said lands, nevertheless, lying in *Cianachta* were excepted for the church, and handed over to bishop Montgomery; so that of all the fair territory which once was his, Donald Ballagh had not now as much as would afford him a last resting-place near the sculptured tomb of Cooey-na-gall! To add to his mortification, his son was arrested and sent to the Dublin University, to be brought up in the reformed religion, or, according to the hypocritical cant of the time, "a civil subject." O'Cahan got no sympathy, and he deserved none; for he might have foreseen that the govern-

ment to which he sold himself would cast him off as an outworn tool, when he could no longer subserve their wicked purposes. But yet there was one trait in his character for which he deserves, perhaps, some credit, that is, his fidelity to the ancient faith; for, notwithstanding Chichester's efforts to bring him to *conformity*, and the king's menacing instructions on that subject, he would not apostatise, probably because he saw no equivalent for his soul, or, what is still more likely, because he wished to thwart his majesty's proselytizing zeal. Be that as it may, it is hard to believe that such a traitor to his country could have been actuated by anything like an honorable principle.

Pondering over all their disappointments and false calculations, O'Cahan and Nial Garve O'Donel resolved, after they had spent nearly a year in the prison of Dublin Castle, to effect their escape, and, indeed, they would have accomplished it, were it not for the treachery, or, perhaps, weak-heartedness of some sympathizer, who promised to aid them. Sir Arthur Chichester himself has left us the account of this, and we reproduce it in his own words. Writing to sir John Davys, at the beginning of 1610, his Excellency gives us the following particulars :—

"My noble Attorney,—Nial Garve and O'Cahan had contrived their escape, and would have desperately attempted it, had I not prevented it within these six nights by a discovery made unto me, albeit I keep twenty men every night for the guard of the castle, over and above the ward of the same, whereof two or three lie in their chambers. Their horses were come to the town [Dublin], and all things were in readiness. Shane O'Carrollan, after he was acquitted of three indictments, and, as most men conceived, free from all

danger of the law, did, on Friday, cast himself out of a window on the top of the castle, by the help of a piece of rotten match and his mantle, which broke before he was half way down; and though he was presently discovered, yet he escaped about supper time. Surely," moralizes the deputy, "these men do go beyond all nations in the world for desperate escapes!"

If the deputy has not long since experienced his last emotion, and knows anything of this sublunary world, he has, doubtless, discovered, ere, now, that some of the modern Irish have inherited their predecessors' talent for prison-breaking.

But as Dublin Castle had not dungeon strong enough or shackles stout enough for such miscreants as Nial Garve and O'Cahan, the deputy, acting on instructions he had received from the king's privy council, transported them both to the Tower of London. Indeed, if it had not been for the services they rendered to the crown, both must have perished on the gibbet; but the statesmen of the period had grateful memories, and they consequently resolved to let them live and eat their hearts in solitude and remorse.

Yet it would appear that they did not wholly abandon their hope of escaping even from the Tower,* its portcullises and wet moats notwithstanding; for, in 1617, seven years after their committal, one Neal King made sworn depositions, which set forth that a certain Oge O'Donnelly, a familiar of Mr. Harry Pierce, secretary to sir Oliver St. John, then lord deputy, was in the habit of resorting occasionally to the Tower, "to

* In 1643, lord Maguire and his fellow-prisoner, MacMahon, sawed a panel of their cell-doors, and swam across the moat, but were subsequently arrested and executed at Tyburn, 1644. A copy of Maguire's last will was published in the *Nation*, Dec. 29, 1866.

confer with the Irish knights that lie prisoners there, viz., sir Nial O'Donel, Sir Cormac Mac Baron, and sir Donald O'Cahan, which he thinketh can be of no good intent for the crown of England." But O'Donnelly's plan did not succeed; for, in 1623, sir Allen Apsley made a report of the prisoners then in his custody, from which we extract the following entry:—"There is here sir Nial Garve O'Donel, a man that was a *good subject* during the late queen's time, and did as great service to the state as any man of his nation. He hath been prisoner here about thirteen years. His offence is known specially to the lord Chichester. Naghtan, his son, was taken from Oxford, and committed with his father. I never heard any offence he did." The constable, doubtless, was kindly disposed towards Naghtan, for it would appear that he was released; but as for Nial Garve and O'Cahan, they ended their days close prisoners, the one in 1626, and the other the year following. The crown had a happy riddance of both—no one lamented them, not even those who employed them to do the work of spies and delators, for they regarded them with loathing and abhorrence, as they merited; so true is the old proverb:—

"Proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt invisi sunt;"

in plain English—traitors are despised even by those they serve.

Before dismissing this subject, it is but fair to state that Rory, one of Donald Ballagh's kinsmen—perhaps his brother—obtained a grant of five hundred acres of the ancient territory of *Cianachta*, of which he held possession till 1616, when it was taken from him, and bestowed upon one Carey, recorder of Derry, in lieu of salary, that official covenanting to pay a trifling annual rent for same. Thus were the O'Cahans' dispossessed

by the colonists of Derry, to whom their broad lands and teeming rivers were passed, mayhap, for ever. Many of the sept, however, took service in the king of Spain's and the archdukes' armies; and one of them, who had won distinction in the Netherlands, came to Ireland as lieutenant-general to Owen Roe O'Neill, in 1642. This Daniel O'Cahan was singularly gifted as a linguist and general scholar, and was much lamented by his chief, when he fell in an encounter with the troops under command of major-general Munroe, near Clones. Let us hope that his patriotism and bravery expiated the crime of his kinsman, Donald Ballagh.*

A far more melancholy interest, however, surrounds the history of another member of this once potent family, concerning whom the following anecdote is recorded in Sampson's Statistical Survey of the County of Derry. Towards the close of the Cromwellian war in Ireland, the dutchess of Buckingham passed through Limavady, visited its ancient castle, then sadly dilapidated, and entering one of the apartments, saw an aged woman, wrapped in a blanket, and crouching over a peat fire, which filled the room with reeking smoke. After gazing at this pitiful spectacle, the duchess asked the miserable individual her name; when the latter, rising, and drawing herself up to her full height, replied—"I am wife of the O'Cahan." It is not likely that she was Tyrone's daughter, widow of Donald Ballagh; but she may have been either the wife or mother of Rory, so cruelly dispossessed for the benefit of the Recorder of Derry. At all events, the incident proves that there are vicissitudes of families which transcend even the exaggerations of romance.†

* These particulars are taken from the "Aphorismical Discovery of Faction," a most valuable MS. in the Library of T.C.D.

† In the Ulster Journal of Archæology there is a series of papers

The foregoing facts, although digressive, were too important to be over passed, as they were the immediate consequences of O'Dogherty's rebellion, and intimately connected with the first steps taken for the plantation of Ulster,—an episode that comes only incidentally within scope of this volume. Another subject, however, of paramount interest, at this period, has special claims on our attention, namely, Chichester's conduct to the Irish Catholics. Painful as their condidition was before the flight of the earls, it was rendered still more intolerable after that event; for the deputy and his chief advisers, Loftus, and his successor, Jones, schismatic archbishops of Dublin, were tireless in pursuing all orders of the Catholic clergy—the Franciscans especially — from house to house, rifling their poor altars, and treating themselves as veriest felons. Mass, indeed, might be celebrated within domestic walls; but as the Irish clergy of the period came from seminaries beyond seas, the executive gave out that they were one and all emissaries of Rome, sent by O'Neill and the rest of the fugitives, to keep alive the smouldering embers of discontent. Hence, Chichester was ever on the alert for the arrest of bishops and priests, lowering his dignity of chief governor to the level of a catchpole, and resorting to meanest shifts for the accomplishment of his wicked designs. Many of his letters to lord Salisbury, at this period, show how industriously he labored in this despicable occupation, and how thoroughly he had mastered the science of trick and artifice, anticipating, it may be, the *detectiveism* of our own times. A single extract from one of his many letters will show his Excellency's proficiency in this rôle. Having heard that Brian O'Kearney, arch-

on the O'Cahans, by the Rev. J. S. Porter, who has treated the subject learnedly and in the kindliest spirit.

bishop of Cashel, had recently arrived in London, on his return from Rome, Chichester wrote to lord Salisbury thus :—

"I am advertised by persons of good note and observation, that the titulary archbishop of Cashel went from this kingdom to find out the traitor Tyrone, and had come back from foreign parts with his sister's son, a Jesuit, called father Wall, who landed in Ulster, by whom he sent messages to his brother, Paul Kearney, a merchant of Cashel, to collect money, and repair thither with same to London, where the said archbishop had promised to meet him. Paul Kearney is now departed therewith to London, and the titulary archbishop might, on his arrival there, be apprehended, for his brother is well known to Munster men, and a watch upon him will discover the bishop. If," reflects this stolid bigot, "I have observed anything during my stay in this kingdom, I may say it is not lenity and good works that will reclaim the Irish, but an *iron rod*, and severity of justice, for the restraint and punishment of those firebrands of sedition, the priests ; nor can we think of other remedy but to proclaim them, and their relievers and harborers, traitors."

With such a man governing the destinies of Ireland, we may easily conceive how it fared with the ministers and followers of the old faith. Nevertheless, the succession of their bishops continued unbroken ; the clergy of all orders, with some few exceptions, faithful to their calling ; while the masses, to whom they dispensed sacraments and instruction as it were clandestinely, could not be induced by bribe, or forced by proclamation, to abandon the ancient religion, or withhold maintenance from a priesthood to whom they were devotedly attached

by the most lasting of all links—hatred of English oppression, and that sublime sympathy, which, like one soul, informed the two bodies. Nor is it less noteworthy, that those days of persecution and *poverty* were pre-eminently the days of scholarship in the Irish church; for it was then Colgan, Wadding, Fleming, Conry, and others, devoted the opulence of their learning to the composition of works which were soon to spread the reputation of Celtic genius over Europe, and which are even now among the most valuable archæological monuments of their period. This, indeed, is not exaggeration, as the learned well know; nor can we forget that those illustrious men were driven out of Ireland by penal statutes, enacted against their religion and persons, to seek protection and encouragement from foreign Catholic princes. It is not possible, says a profound thinker, for a people to lose memory; and the facts at which we have barely glanced will account for the kindly feeling that the Irish cherish even to this day for Spaniard and Frenchman, when, for cognate reasons, the same sentiment is shared with the republicans of America.

Reverting to the projected extirpation of the natives of Ulster, in which sir Toby Caulfield was destined to act a leading part, we may repeat that the people of that province regarded, as well they might, the new proprietary with feelings of abhorrence, and comforted themselves with the vague assurance that Tyrone would one day return to repossess himself of his territory. No one was more sensitive on this subject than Caulfield, and the more so, as he had heard that the Spanish ambassador recently accredited to the court of St. James', had been interceding with the king for the fugitives, although ineffectually. Even so, it was certain that if O'Neill did return, with or without

assistance, the people would flock to him, since, as Caulfield himself informs us, there was a wide-spread feeling of discontent pervading the length and breadth of Ulster, notwithstanding the vaunted benefits it was to receive from the new settlers, who, according to sir John Davys and sir Arthur Chichester, "were to relieve the natives from the exactions and tyranny of their former *barbarous lords*." In order, therefore, to carry out this delusive programme, the deputy charged Caulfield to exceed, if possible, his usual vigilance over suspects, and to seize every Irishman—ecclesiastics especially—who landed on the Ulster coast, from Italy, Spain, or Belgium. And zealously, indeed, did sir Toby discharge his duty, for he took great care to make the deputy acquainted with every arrival "from beyond seas," furnishing him, at the same time, with such unmistakeable marks and tokens of their individuality, as would enable him to seize them in city or in hamlet. From many of the letters written by sir Toby on this subject, as well as on the projected plantation of Ulster, we select the following :—

"*Sir Toby Caulfield to the lord deputy.*

"Right honorable,—I have been of late slow in writing unto your lordship, out of the ill success I have found in prosecution of the woodkerne. I have done my best, and all hath turned to nothing ; and now I have no hope at all, for the people do think, since the news of the plantation hath been divulged by sir Turlough M'Henry, and the rest, lately arrived from England, that it will very shortly be many of these cases to be woodkerne, out of necessity ; no other means being

left for them to keep a being in this world, than to live as long as they can by *sckamblinge*.*

They have a report bruited amongst them, which comforteth them much — that an ambassador newly arrived in England, from Spain, doth treat for the pardoning of the earl and restoration to his lands, which being refused, a war will ensue. They also hope that so much of the summer being spent before the commission came down, so great cruelty will not be showed as to remove them upon the edge of winter from their houses, and in the very season when they are to employ themselves in making their harvests; and lastly, they think that, by the next spring, if ever Tyrone can or will come, he will forslowe no longer time when he shall hear delays, and further deferring cannot be less prejudice to him than the utter ruin and extirpation of his dearest friends. They hold discourse among themselves, that if this course had been taken with them in war time, it had had some color of justice; but being pardoned, and their lands given them, and they having lived under law ever since, and being ready to submit themselves to the mercy of the law for any offence they can be charged withal since their pardoning, they conclude it to be the greatest cruelty that ever was inflicted upon any people; and let me assure your lordship, there is not a more discontented people in Christendom; and, accordingly, you must provide for them to second the new planters. B. G. assureth me that he dare adventure his life that neither Ever M'Collogh's† son, nor the provincial friar, who, as he heareth, is made archbishop of Toome,‡ are in Ireland, but that they lately went from Rome to Spain, where they now are.

* Another form for scrambling.

† Ever Mac Cooley Mac Mahon of Farney. ‡ Tuam.

C. S. is of that mind, both confessing that they have had conference with the chief priests of the pale now very lately, which are matchless in state affairs, from whom they make no doubt but they should have heard it, if any such thing had been. I do lay out to know by sundry other ways, and am persuaded that if they be arrived, it is not yet known to my neighbors.

"B. G. telleth me that three other priests are lately arrived. Their names are one Bath, son to Bath of Gaundestowne,* one Brady, and one Whyte — their Christian names he knoweth not. They came from Italy to Rochelle, and from thence to Ireland. They had in their company one of the women† which Tyrone carried away with him, whom they left at Rochelle, to avoid suspicion."

But what is more to our purpose, as showing that sir Toby kept vigilant watch on ecclesiastics returned from

* Probably Julianstown, near Drogheda.

† Oona-ne-Sheil, who figures in the following petition of Nicholas Hollywood, of Artane, to the king's most excellent majesty:—

"Humbly shewing to your majesty that one Owny ny Sheyle being attendant on the then countess of Tyrone, and not being thirteen years of age, when the traitor Tyrone fled out of this kingdom, was at that time taken away by him beyond the seas, she not knowing the danger of her said going with him, where she hath ever since continued; and albeit she is very desirous to repair into this kingdom, and to live as becometh a dutiful subject, yet she dares not come without first obtaining your majesty's gracious pardon and licence in that behalf.

"It may, therefore, please your most excellent majesty to vouchsafe the same unto her, that she may return home, and live with the petitioner, whose lawful married wife she is, they being married when they were both of young years; and he will undertake for her as shall be needful. And they both will ever pray for your majesty's long and happy reign over us."

abroad, is the enclosure contained in his letter, which purported to be the informations or discovery of one of those unhappy people, who, from time to time, turned up, and were then accounted reformed, or in other phrase, "good and loyal subjects." Although individuals of that class were entitled to little or no credit, it is easy to collect from Drea's depositions that all efforts made by primate Usher and Montgomery to convert the Irish of Ulster—if, indeed, they ever troubled themselves on such a subject—were hopelessly unavailing; nor are we to be surprised at this, since the Anglican prelates were then too much occupied with the land question, to concern themselves about such immaterial substances as the souls of Irish "Papists." Lost and abandoned, however, as father Drea was, his discovery also proves that the religious orders, despite the government, were ready to sacrifice their lives for the perpetuation of the ancient faith, and a spirit of noble resistance to their unscrupulous persecutors. We may also observe that he instinctively revolted at appearing on the roll of informers, and would not have his name made known to any one but sir Dominic Sarsfield, chief justice of the king's bench, and a ferocious zealot, whose house was then a sort of *Morgue*, where moral suicides, such as Drea, were wont to be exposed for recognition. It is needless to aver that the discovery was a tissue of fabrications, as the Catholic reader will at once perceive on perusing the ordinances relating to sacramental confession, and that special innovation in the liturgy, which was utterly unknown to the Congregation of Rites.

"*Drea's Informations, enclosed in sir T. Caulfield's letter.*

"The archbishop of Cashel* is gone to Rome, and a Jesuit, Walter Wall, and went purposely with news and for news. There is no doubt but every of the clergy in Ireland, and of the birth of Ireland in foreign parts, are daily working all possible means to have wars in Ireland; and in regard that they are working the same, they send daily precursors over to persuade the common people in their confessions, the which the common people cannot discover, because it is moved unto them *in foro confessionis:* and now and all this half a year they are about the doing of it. Wherefore I beseech your honor that some course may be taken that these people be not so attempted, and let the council know it both of England and Ireland. They shall not be heard but upon a condition that they shall never resist the Catholic religion. There must be no Englishman's tenants paying rent to any of the English, besides what of right, as composition, king's rent, and such other that cannot be but paid, come to Mass nor to any other sacrifice of theirs. They pray daily unto God in their prayers, *videlicit:* '*Ut scismaticos evertere; Protestantes funditus eradicare; necnon hereticos radicitus confundere digneris—te rogamus audi nos.*'

"They have appointed that every man shall bless himself as often as he seeth any Protestant, or of any other sect whatsoever. They have also appointed that no Catholic shall be in company with any Protestant to be buried, *sub pœna excommunicationis:* all and every that eateth or drinketh with any of the friars that came of late, have greatly benefited many indulgences. They

* David O'Kearney.

have appointed in every bishopric in Ireland, a general vicar, who must appoint a curate in every parish throughout all the dioceses. They have archdeacons, deans, officers, as they were in times past. There is neither child christened, nor matrimony, or contract made now in Ireland, but by Catholic priests. They can dispense with any couple as high by degrees, but in one or two. They have set and ordained that no priest or friar shall make conversation with any Protestant. They have appointed guardians abbats in every abbaye in Ireland. Let them be barred or letted, or I protest they will do all the means in the world they can to overthrow this poor Ireland. They have viewed the cities, and the situatiou of the forts, and the strength of all Ireland. They are now sending over one Teigue O'Sullivan with news to Spain and Rome, '*non sine auri et argenti pondere.*'

"Let the harbors of Ireland be better kept, and let every ship be searched; but they leave all their weighty affairs and letters to friars and such other dangerous priests; as soon as the ships do land, they put them by boat ashore. Merchants of Ireland are greatly in fault of the coming and going of these dangerous persons; they are bound to adventure their bodies and souls in conscience for priests and friars. His majesty hath in Ireland but very few true subjects, especially of the birth of Ireland, *nisi ob timorem.*

"These and many others I can declare; but I beseech your honor let not this be known publicly awhile to any of the council that are of the birth of Ireland, besides sir Dominic Sarsfield; it were the greatest discredit that ever a man of my profession had or did, that such a thing of a sudden should be disclosed upon him; but I beseech your honor, because I leave all this and more at leisure to your honor's discreet judgment, let me

know before your honor's departure from home what I shall do if your honor do bring me away from hence, so that I may send for things—as my boots, boot-hose, and such others against the journey. My honorable sir, I beseech you that I may not be left here, the rather because *egrotat crumena*—I have no money.

"P.S.—And they are, since his majesty did confess himself to be a Protestant, secretly praying to God for his subversion and overthrow; and not only for this, but for the confusion and overthrow of all that sect whereof he is; and specially they pray to God, both night and day, for the confusion and overthrow of sir Robert Cecil, thinking him to be the only post of all the misery and error, and not only that, but to be inspired by a spirit that foretells him of all things. They do again charge Scotland to be full of the black art, and do think it to be the wickedest nation in Christendom.

"And there is the king's Castle in Limerick, and it is commonly known there, if the citizens were about any mischief in the world against his majesty, they may, underneath the ground, come into the cellar unknown to the ward.* That same is not the strongest castle in Limerick, though it standeth in a good, sure place; but for all the matter, it is in a good place; and if his majesty or the council meaneth to have all the strength and force of the city, let the castle in the Irish town be had for some of his majesty's munition and ordnance, or else it will be dangerous. I heard of all the matter among themselves, but I pray God that no need may be; nevertheless, *prestat prevenire, quam preveniri.*"

* There is allusion to this cellar in the "Life and Times of Florence Maccarthy;" and Caulfield says, in a postscript to the enclosure: "I have sent to inquire of this cellar, which, as he informeth, a mason in Limerick can discover with little wor..." For a most valuable notice of the castle itself, see Lenehan's learned "History of Limerick."

While Caulfield was thus employed watching the movements of the Ulster papists, the deputy had another active agent, who was commissioned to take note of all arrivals on the southern coast, and to report same with least possible delay to the executive. This individual was one Bernard Adams, an Englishman, intruded* into the united sees of Limerick and Kilfenora, by James I., in order to bring the Catholics of Munster to conformity. What special qualifications Adams possessed for such propagandism we do not know; but one of them was his utter ignorance of the language of the natives, since no spark of the Pentecost fire had fallen to his lot. His flock, indeed, was small, composed of the officers of the garrison of Limerick, and other dependents of the government; but as he enjoyed the revenues of two sees, and could not otherwise make himself useful, it was only reasonable that he should strive to do the state some service, by acting the part of sub-sheriff or bailiff. Adams, it appears, had got hold of some miscreant, named Donogh O'Callanan, who probably had been dismissed by the priest in whose employment he lived; and with the aid of an interpreter, his lordship elicited from him the subjoined information, which he immediately despatched to the lord deputy:—

"*To the right honorable my especial good lord sir Arthur Chichester, knt., lord deputy of the realm of Ireland, with speed.*

"Right honorable and my good lord,—As I hearken not after flying rumors, idly raised to busy the ignorant, and feed them with vain expectations of strange

* 1604.

events; so I cannot but give credence to such information as this whereof I now certify your honor, seeing all things so concur as that the precedences being demonstrably apparent, the consequences are not unlikely to follow, as effects do their causes, unless God himself alter the course.

"Hosowever, I could do no less than advertise your lordship of it, that in your wisdom you may think and consult how much it is to be respected or neglected. The first of June there was brought to me to be examined, by Mr. Arthur Sexton, high-sheriff of the county of Crosse, a young man, about the age of twenty-three years, named Donogh O'Tool, a follower of the now arch-practising priests, who, out of a desire he had to do some good service to the state, moved partly thereunto, as I gathered, by discontentments or wrongs received, if not appointed rather to be an instrument to manifest secret mischiefs, discoursed unto me, by an interpreter, of the company and quality of divers Romish factors, that have employment in Ulster and Munster from beyond the seas, and are now assembled, under color of a visitation, to accomplish their purpose, and to make ready against the date of their conclusions. The names of the principal commanders and high commissioners from his Holiness are: Morris Ultagh, a doctor of such kind of divinity as it is, who came from Rome two years since, and, for the most part, hath resided in the diocese of Meath, at the abbey of Boyletefarnan [Multifernan], in the lord of Delvin's country; with whom is joined in authority, if not superior to him, Thomas Fitz-Edmund, the fair-spoken friar — a man too well known everywhere. They have in association with them one Teigue O'Holahan, a doctor also of the same stamp, and of St. Francis' order, who came

out of Spain a year past. All these, with other of their consorts, are now in Limerick. Friar Thomas came to town the 29th of May, being Tuesday; the rest upon Whitsun-eve, the 26th of May. We needed not their company here, for we have always father Arthur, the Jesuit, and too many of his rabble here. They go on their progress from hence the 4th of June, which is Monday next, towards Kilmallock, and from thence to Cork, where they determine to stay a fortnight or three weeks; so they mind to circuit the whole province, and at Kilkenny they have resolved to part. Morris Ultagh goeth to Meath to misgovern and do little good there, with Thomas M'Cannah,* a Franciscan, and guardian of the abbey of Boyletefarnan; and Thomas Fitz-Ed. Connell back to domineer in Munster.

"The informer being asked whether he knew any secret designs or intended plots of theirs, said no, otherwise than that he is sure they went about to trouble the kingdom, and to raise wars if they can. His reason is, for that they pray day and night for Tyrone, that God will strengthen him, of whom they confidently give forth that he is preparing, if not prepared, for Ireland. For proof hereof, he saith there is a young friar called John Conley, allied to Patrick Conley, dwelling in Bread-street, at Dublin, which friar is a *merchant's son of Tradagh* [Drogheda], and landed there the 10th of May last; who came from Tyrone, and brought this news: that Tyrone had an army from the pope and the king of Spain, and that he would be in Ireland by Michaelmas. This Donogh O'Callanan hath undertaken by vow to do his best

* He wrote a brief account of the Irish Franciscan convents.

endeavor to reveal more, and to be ready at command if your honor be so pleased to think it needful to show himself, and set down the way how to apprehend any of them or all of them, if he may be warranted and assisted. In respect, therefore, he came voluntarily, and offered himself in such fashion, I desired Mr. Sexton to entertain him kindly, and to assure him of a reward if he made all this good, which he saith he will justify, *and do whatsoever he shall be further required, if your lordship so direct.* So he departed from me for the present, with promise to come privately to me the next morning, the 2nd of June, which he did accordingly; at which time he opened to me particularly as followeth: first, that he hath heard Teigue O'Holahan tell friar Thomas that there were three great armies preparing in Italy and Spain, one whereof *is for England, another for Scotland,* and the *third for Ireland.* After this he delivered me the name of one David Crafford, a Scotchman, whose father, Owen Crafford, and his mother likewise, dwell both in Donegal, and he hath a brother, who is horse-boy to Morris Ultagh, and with him now in Limerick. I asked him how he came to the knowledge of all this. He replied that he was appertaining to one of the friars himself; and mark, saith he, what I shall tell you of this David Crafford, for it will be as material as all the rest. This Crafford was servant and butler to the late earl of Tyrconnel, when he left Ireland and went over into France, and so forward, with said David Crafford, landed awhile since, about the 29th of April last, at Killybegs, in the north, and the same night he landed he lay in the house of one Owen M'Gettigan, in the county of Donegal, which Owen is bailiff to the sheriff there. The next morning the said Crafford and Owen went to Donegal to an Englishwoman's house, whose name is

Mary Istock, wife to Thomas Humphrey, now in Sweland, and there they drank together. From thence they passed to Fermanagh, in Maguire's country; and the morning after came to Brian M'Mahonagh, *alias* Brian M'Hugh Oge's house, who married one of Tyrone's daughters; and then to Brian Art Roe M'Eny's house, who likewise married another of Tyrone's daughters. This Crafford hath been appointed to this business ever since Tyrconnel and Tyrone's sons' death. What letters he brought over and to whom he cannot tell, neither how he was entertained of the above-named but sure he is that he came from Tyrone to warn all noblemen, gentlemen, and others that wish well to Tyrone, and would hold and stand for the Catholic religion, to be in a readiness. His knowledge of all this came *by a sister's son of David Crafford's*, who is a friar in this company. This confession being thus made, he took a book, and protested of himself that it was true in every point, or else wished he might be hanged if it proved not so. Whereupon I took order for his relief and safety, whereof he doubted, and left him in the high-sheriff of Crosse's custody, to go with him into his country as an attendant, being dismissed before from the friar, so that there could grow no suspicion of him, to the end he might be forthcoming and at hand if your lordship, upon more mature deliberation of the moment of these matters, should appoint anything to be done in them, wherein he might either inform more or make good that he hath delivered, which he boldly undertaketh upon his life to do, during which time I have provided for his maintenance, the better to encourage him. And so leaving this amongst your honor's other weighty affairs, to be considered of as your lordship and the rest shall deem convenient, beseeching God to bless and guide you for the mainte-

nance of his truth and preservation of this realm in happy tranquillity, I humbly take leave.—Resting.

"Limerick, June 3rd, 1610.

"Your honor in Christ Jesus faithfully assured, and most ready to be commanded,

"Bernard Limerick."

Adams in sooth was a vigilant bishop, that is, overseer; and the deputy, doubtless, must have been astonished by his zeal, and edified at his alacrity to lay hands on Maurice Ultagh and the rest of the Franciscans, who were intent on disturbing the kingdom, and seconding Tyrone whenever he came back with the three armies. The latter, however, were the creatures of the informer's imagination, for Paul V. was then too busy with the completion of St. Peter's and other magnificent works at Rome—to say nothing of his precarious relations with Venice—to think of sending an expedition to Ireland, knowing as he did how it fared with the two undertaken by his predecessor, Gregory XIII.* The information, nevertheless, is valuable, as elucidating the condition of the religious orders in Ireland at the period, and showing how generously a Protestant prelate was disposed towards any one who would enable him to hunt down the unfortunate clergy, secular or regular.

The day after the despatch of his first letter, the bishop forwarded another to the deputy, giving the names of individuals to whom Tyrone had written, as

* "Gregory XIII.," says Muratori (Annali d'Italia), "in 1578, sent six hundred infantry to aid the Irish Catholics, but they never reached their destination. Three years afterwards, another expedition, equipped by the same pope and the king of Spain, arrived on the south coast of Ireland, where they shamefully surrendered a fort in Smerwick bay, well furnished with artillery and provisions."

the informer alleged, by Florence Conry, archbishop of Tuam; but this was a palpable lie, for the latter never set foot on Irish soil since he sailed from Castlehaven with O'Donel after the siege of Kinsale. The list of Tyrone's correspondents is a long one; and we publish the entire document, as a practical commentary on that passage in one of St. Paul's epistles, which warns a bishop against troubling himself about secular matters. Little time, indeed, had Bernard, bishop of Limerick, for purely spiritual concerns, engaged as he was waylaying friars, encouraging delators, and jotting down the names of disaffected Irish from Donegal to the hills of Wicklow. Who will presume to say that his office was a sinecure?

"*To the right honorable my very good lord sir Arthur Chichester, knt., lord deputy of the realm of Ireland, these with speed.*

"Right honorable, — As I receive instructions by piecemeal, so I send them unto your lordship, keeping this Donogh M'Tool O'Callanan upon my hand, to wrest what I can out of him, who, indeed, is willing of himself to continue as he began; and therefore I made trial of him by giving him liberty as long as his kinsmen and the rest of the friars were in town, having always a good watch upon him; but now they are gone, I will be surer of him till I hear from your honor. He hath, this 4th of June, after the holy company's departure towards Cork, been with me again, and given me the names from his uncle the friar of all such as Flaric O'Mulconnor, the supposed archbishop of Tuam, hath brought letters unto from Tyrone out of Spain, who are these:—

"To sir Brian M'Mahon, alias Brian M'Hugh Oge.

"To sir Arthur Magnese.

"To Donough M'Swine, alias M'Swine O'Banah.

"To sir Randal M'Donnell, lord of Dunluce, who, as he saith, married a third daughter of Tyrone's as the two first.

"To Connor Roe M'Guyre, of Fermanagh.

"To Donnell O'Conor, lord of Sligo, who married one of the earl of Desmond's daughters.

"To sir Tibald Burke, alias ne-Longe, in Connaught.

"To Mr. Patrick Conley, in Dublin, with this privy remembrance from Tyrone, that whatsoever Patrick did promise him he should have it ready.

"To Thomas Burke, Raimund's son.

"To captain Tirrill.

"To Donnell Spanaih.

"To Raymond M'Feagh M'Hugh.

"To Phelim M'Feagh M'Hugh.

"To the knight of the Glin.

"To Donnell M'Carragh, of Caslanlough, in Kerry.

"To a priest in Lismore or Leix, for so I understood him, having no interpreter I might trust, but a bad one in my house; but your honor shall know it by this, that sir Oliver Lambert hath that land. To that priest it is written to warn all in Lismore to be quiet until, &c. Thus reserving whatsoever else shall be gathered until I hear from your honor what your pleasure is about the five young men who are here in durance, and this together, I again humbly take leave.—Resting.

"Your honor's in all he is, and in all things ready at command,

"Bernard Limerick and Kilfenora."

"Limerick, June 4th, 1610."

The foregoing letter, which might have come more fittingly from a police-commissioner than from Adams—

albeit the latter was nothing more than a policeman in lawn—shows how much the executive was in dread of Tyrone's return to Ireland, and with what suspicion the deputy and his officials regarded the assembling of a few dozen friars, to regulate the affairs of their respective orders. Serious, however, as the apprehensions of the Irish government were, they were rendered still more so by a letter which Cornwallis addressed to the lords of the king's privy council, informing them that the fugitives in Spain, Rome, and the Netherlands were busily engaged plotting an invasion of Ireland, to repossess themselves of their estates, and extirpate the Anglo-Irish, or such of them as would not aid the enterprise. Cornwallis, indeed, forewarned my lords of the whole scheme, and with a minuteness of detail which would almost incline one to believe that he himself was in the confidence of the projectors. "Letters," says he, "have recently reached Tyrone of great encouragement, that most of the gentlemen of the country, and many of the Irish towns, would, either publicly or secretly, give them assistance at their return; that the English forces in Ireland would be but a breakfast to them; that the wandering Irish in France* and Spain are to be called home for that purpose, so should, likewise, the practised Irish soldiers, of whom six especial men, who have long served in Flanders, should go disguised to the north of Ireland, in vessels that fish there; that there was to be a simultaneous rising in five counties — in Tipperary, under lord Cahir; in Munster, under lord Roche; that stores of butter, corn, and oatmeal were to be laid up in the house of Cecily

* Martin, Hist. de France, says that at this period, 1611, France was crowded with poor Irish begging from door to door: "Un grand nombre d'Irlandais se refugierent en France, on voyait ces pauvres gens errer par toute la France avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants."

Lacraffin, daughter of the bishop of Cashel [Miler Magrath] ; that sir John Talbot of Malahide would contribute supplies ; that none showed themselves opposed to the movement, but sir John Everard, who, for refusing the oath of supremacy, had been removed from the place of a judge ; that a legate and twelve priests would set out to confirm the weak and wavering ; and, finally, that the pope and the emperor of Germany, and other Catholic powers, would aid the enterprise with money and munitions."*

With such a programme before him, it was only natural, indeed, that Chichester and his subordinates—most of all the Protestant prelates—should have felt very uncomfortable, notwithstanding the recent success of their arms and policy in suppressing the Inishowen revolt. But the whole scheme, so elaborately detailed by the ambassador, was the creation of his own brain—a lie, invented and circulated in consideration of his country's good, and the emolument attaching to his place. The pretended complicity of the pope was an unmitigated falsehood ; for, as we have already said, he had no means at his disposal, even were he so inclined, to aid his spiritual subjects in Ireland with ships or munitions. It is, nevertheless, quite certain that he did ask Philip III. of Spain to intercede with king James that Tyrone might be restored to his patrimony. His Holiness' instances, however, were unavailing, as Philip either thought it useless to interpose, or knew that the English cabinet would never grant the fugitives a pardon. Indeed, it is surprising that Paul V. would have made such a request, knowing as he did the stolid bigotry of the English monarch, whose famous "Admonition to Kings and Princes" was

* Winwood, Mem. of State Papers.

written to prove that the Roman pontiffs were Antichrist, and that Paul himself was no other than that very incarnation of all evil. In fact, it is utterly impossible to conceive that he ever entertained the faintest hope of seeing justice done to O'Neill, or the other Irish who were living on his bounty; for he knew well that the prisons of Dublin Castle were then crowded with laymen and ecclesiastics, arrested on charge of having been concerned in aiding the flight. Now, among those were two individuals—an aged bishop and a young priest; and it occurred to the lord deputy that he should make an example of both, in order the more effectually to outroot Popery, and teach Seminarists beyond seas what fate awaited them should they be so foolhardy as to come to Ireland, either as emissaries from the pope, in a purely spiritual capacity, or as agents of O'Neill, to blow the coals of sedition. Here, indeed, was an opportunity which never might present itself again, and which, if allowed to slip, would, according to Chichester's advisers, show that he either lacked energy in suppressing Papists, or was deterred from dealing sternly with them owing to the dread of the Irish serving abroad, who, he affected to believe, would sooner or later make a descent on their native shores. It was suggested by Jones, the Anglican archbishop of Dublin, that a summary proceeding of this sort would inspire salutary fear, were the bishop and the priest convicted of treason, and duly executed according to law; and that the naves and aisles of the churches, hitherto empty, would be speedily filled by "recusants," who presumed to absent themselves from the novel liturgy. A celebrated writer has remarked that it requires little wisdom to govern a state, or even a world;* and the observation is more than borne out by the short-

* "Quantula sapientia gubernatur mundus."

sightedness of such statesmen as Chichester and Jones, who do not seem to have reflected that laws based on terrorism are the most fragile of all, and that the least durable of all foundations—such as that on which Protestantism rose to diminutive proportions in Ireland—is one composed of human bones, blood and tears. They stupidly persuaded themselves that, by sacrificing the two prisoners, the golden chain, which, from the days of Celestine, had bound Ireland to the Vatican, would be broken ; and what was of greater moment to them, that O'Neill would abandon all idea of regaining his lands by force of arms. Let us now lay before the reader one of the most atrocious episodes of English misrule in Ireland.

In the year 1588, during the deputyship of sir William Fitzwilliams, Cornelius O'Devany, a Franciscan of the convent of Donegal, and bishop of Down and Connor, was arrested after escaping from the castle of Dublin, when there was found on his person a document* which the deputy regarded as treasonable, although it contained nothing but a concession of certain faculties made by Raymond O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry, and

* "He was killed," says the Four Masters, 1601, "by the English, in O'Cahan's country." The following is a copy of the paper found on O'Devany's person :—"Nos Remundus. Dei, et A. S. gratia Deren. epus. ac. totius Hib. viceprimas Rmo. Confratri Cornelio, Dun. et Connor. epo.—Quoniam propter imminentia pericula interitus vitæ personaliter terras istas visitare nequimus, brevis apostolici auctoritate, ac primitialis dignitatis, vices nostras ad an. integrum a temp. dat. præsentium . . . . . tenore hujus scripturæ committimus, ac potestatem absolvendi omnes et singulos ad te concurrentes a casibus tam episcopalibus quam papalibus, integ. saltem conscientiæ injunct. eisdem pro modo culp. salutari pœnitentia, ad prædict. tempus concedimus, et indulgemus.—Dat. in Eccl. paroch. Tamlat, 1 Julii, 1588 R. Deren. Epus. ac Viceprimas." The parochial church is in the parish of Tamlaghtard, diocese of Derry.—Reeves' Colton's Visitation, p. 82. For an interesting letter addressed by O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry, to Clement VIII., see Appendix.

vice-primate of all Ireland. Immediately after the arrest, the deputy wrote to lord Burghley, "that O'Devany was a most dangerous and pestilent member, fit to be cut off; yet finding that we cannot proceed against him but by præmunire, I humbly beseech assistance and direction for some other means whereby we may be rid of such an obstinate enemy to God, and so rank a traitor to her majesty, as no doubt he is." What answer Burghley returned to this we know not; but O'Devany remained close prisoner in the Castle two years, at the expiration of which he presented the following memorial to the privy council :—

"Your poor distressed suppliant, Cornelius O'Devany, prisoner in the castle of Dublin, sheweth: That when in the government of sir John Perrot, knt.,* your suppliant was committed concerning matters of religion; and albeit your suppliant cannot deny but in those days he committed divers faults worthy of condign punishment, yet having received the hyere thereof, being a prisoner ever since, and heartily repenting of his former wicked life, doth utterly denounce, from henceforth, ever to live in so disorderly a manner; and therefore most humbly prostrating himself before your lordships' merciful consideration, beseecheth your honors, and for God's cause, that he may be set at liberty, to go and live among his poor friends, the rather that he is now ready to starve for want of food, and hath no friends to become bound for him whom your lordships would accept of; and he utterly refuseth all favor or mercy from henceforth if ever he shall willingly transgress her majesty's proceedings in all causes of religion. And he shall pray, &c., &c."

* His daughter married sir Arthur Chichester.

This memorial was referred to the lord chancellor, Loftus, then pseudo-archbishop of Dublin, Long, the queen's primate, and Jones, so-called bishop of Meath, to take such course thereon as should be thought meet. After giving it consideration, order was sent to the constable of the Castle, empowering him to enlarge the bishop, he paying all fees due to the former. Whatever claims the constable had on the poor bishop for starving him, were discharged; but as the wife of one Stephen Segar, a former constable of the Castle, in her husband's absence, alleged that said O'Devany owed her £20, which he utterly denied, enlargement was stayed till the bishop gave security for answering said sum, or as much thereof as should be justly proved to be by him due to Stephen Segar.* Thereon the bishop was set at liberty, and returned to his diocese. Some time afterwards, when Loftus was carrying on a lawsuit with sir John Perrot, two witnesses for the latter affirmed that Loftus had delivered out of the Castle "a Romish bishop, that now wandereth up and down, and doth great hurt in the north." To this Loftus replied that he did enlarge O'Devany, "who had been a long time prisoner in extreme misery for want of relief, and who, being brought before him, not only took the oath of supremacy, but also a corporal oath ever afterwards to be her majesty's faithful subject." There can be no doubt that this statement was false; for had O'Devany taken the supremacy oath, Loftus would have produced the jurat, which he did not do. We may also add that O'Devany would not have exercised episcopal functions, alluded to in the objection, had he ever so far forgotten himself and his allegiance to the pope. Loftus deserved no credit, for

* The second warrant for the bishop's enlargement is dated and signed by Loftus, 17th Nov., 1590. Segar was constable when Hugh Roe O'Donel escaped, 1592.

he was too intent on piling up a fortune for himself and family to stick at deliberate untruth, when a *Romish* bishop was concerned. Had O'Devany wished to effect his enlargement from the Castle dungeon and starvation, by taking the oath of supremacy, he might have done so as well after one month's experience of English prison discipline, as after the lapse of two dreary years.

Meanwhile the bishop applied himself to the duties of his high calling, and, of course, was included in the general pardon granted by James I. on his accession to the English crown; nor have we any mention of him by the government till June, 1611, when he was arrested while administering confirmation in a private domicile, where he was assisted by a young priest of his own order, recently come to Ireland from Louvain. Both were committed to the castle of Dublin, and arraigned, after seven months' detention, before Sarsfield, chief justice of the king's bench, on a charge of high treason. The jury impannelled to try the prisoners being composed of eleven Scotchman and one Irishman, O'Devany challenged the array, objecting that not one of the eleven was qualified to be a juror. This plea, however, being overruled, the bishop asked for counsel, but was inhumanly refused by the frantic bigot who then disgraced the bench. There were sixteen counts in the bill found against him, and, among the rest, that he had assisted the traitor Tyrone during his wars, and also in making his escape from Ireland. Thrown upon his own resources, O'Devany made the best defence he could; denied that he had taken any part in Tyrone's wars against the queen's government; appealed to the act of oblivion; and, after protesting against the competency of the jurors, denounced the mockery of trial to which he had been subjected. Sarsfield made a long, rambling reply to the bishop's objections, and when comment-

ing on his demand to be tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal, reminded him that Christ received sentence from Pilate. Hearing this, the venerable prelate bowed his head, white with the crown that eighty winters had set upon it, and thanked heaven that he was found worthy of being arraigned before one who so fitly represented the Roman proconsul. The Irish juror refused to sanction the verdict; but the eleven "good men and true" found the bishop guilty on all the counts; and Sarsfield, with assumed solemnity, sentenced him to be hung and quartered on the 1st of February immediately following.

The priest, father O'Loghran, being arraigned before the same chief justice, and asked what he had to say to the charge of having aided the flight of the earls, whom he accompanied from Lough Swilly to Belgium, briefly remarked that a fairly constituted jury would acquit him, but at the same time would involve themselves, which he did not desire; and as to the twelve individuals actually impannelled, knowing as he did that they were bent on finding him guilty, he preferred to forego pleading, and abide the consequence. Sarsfield then repeated the sentence pronounced on the bishop; and the two condemned men were brought back to the Castle to await execution. Before crossing his cell-door, a sympathising girl, daughter, probably, of some Castle official, asked the bishop how he did, when he told her that he was never better or more happy, and that she had it in her power to do him a kindness if she would. "What is it?" demanded the girl. "That, when I am dead, you will wrap my mutilated remains in the habit of my order, which I have always worn under my ordinary apparel." The girl generously promised to see his wish carried out.

The day on which O'Devany was to make his last

exit, or real escape, from the Castle, with whose *dungeon* he had been long familiar, was an auspicious one—Candlemas-eve—when he and father O'Loghran were placed on a hurdle, and conveyed to the foot of the Old Bridge, on the north bank of the Liffey, where the work of death was to be done by an English felon, who had graduated in the shambles, and whose sentence was commuted as reward for supplementing the Irish headsman, who fled the city to avoid staining his hands with the blood of such *criminals*. Indeed, there was admirable unity in the whole proceeding—an English jury, a judge with feelings devotedly English, and an executioner without feelings, but with English ideas of what was due to Irish traitors—ecclesiastics especially. O'Sullivan's narrative of the slaughter of the bishop and the priest was gathered in Spain from parties whom he met there; and is already so well known, that we prefer giving that of an Englishman who was an eye-witness of the scene, and, of course, blended much truth with falsehood, enlivening the whole with humorous touches, which show that he was above all Celtic susceptibility. The name of this individual was Barnaby Rich, "Gentleman servant to the king's most excellent majesty," and the title of his book, from which the following narrative is taken, "A Catholic Conference between Syr Tady MacMarcull, a Popish Priest of Waterford, and Patrick Plaine, a young student of Trinity College, by Dublin:"*

"On the 28th of January, the bishop and priest, being arraigned at the king's bench, were each condemned of

* It was published in London, 1616, and the author describes his performance as "strange to be related, credible to be believed, and pleasant to be perused." In Gilbert's Dublin there is frequent reference to Rich.

treason, and adjudged to be executed the Saturday following; which day being come, a priest or two of the pope's brood, with holy water and other holy stuffs, were sent to sanctify the gallows whereon they were to die. About two o'clock, p.m., the traitors were delivered to the sheriffs of Dublin, who placed them in a small car, which was followed by a great multitude. As the car progressed, the spectators knelt down; but the bishop sitting still, like a block, would not vouchsafe them a word, or turn his head aside. The multitude however, following the car, made such a dole and lamentation after him, as the heavens themselves resounded the echoes of their outcries. Being come to the gallows, whither they were followed by troops of the citizens, men and women of all classes, most of the best being present, the latter kept up such a shrieking, such a howling, and such a hallooing, as if St. Patrick himself had been going to the gallows, could not have made greater signs of grief; but when they saw him turned from off the gallows, they raised the *whobub* with such a maine cry, as if the rebels had come to rifle the city. Being ready to mount the ladder, when he was pressed by same of the bystanders to speak, he repeated frequently, '*Sine me quæso.*'* The executioner had no sooner taken off the bishop's head, but the townsmen of Dublin began to flock about him, some taking up the head with pitying aspect, accompanied with sobs and sighs; some kissed it with as religious an appetite as ever they kissed the Pax; some cut away all the hair from the head, which they preserved for a relic; some others were practisers to steal the head away, but the executioners gave notice to the sheriffs.†

* Do not disturb me, I beseech you.

† In 1611, Thomas Bishop was Mayor of Dublin, and the sheriffs were —— Chalkwret and Richard Wigget.

"Now, when he began to quarter the body, the women thronged about him, and happy was she that could get but her handkerchief dipped in the blood of the traitor; and the body being once dissevered in four quarters, they neither left finger nor toe, but they cut them off and carried them away; and some others that could get no holy monuments that appertained to his person, with their knives they shaved off chips from the hallowed gallows; neither would they omit the halter wherewith he was hanged, but it was rescued for holy uses. The same night after the execution, a great crowd flocked about the gallows, and there spent the fore part of the night in heathenish howling, and performing many Popish ceremonies; and after midnight, being then Candlemas day in the morning, having their priests present in readiness, they had Mass after Mass, till daylight being come, they departed to their own houses. The bishop was invested by the pope, for those Balaamite idiots be fit instruments to spread the pope's doctrine, especially in Ireland, where the poor people are so infested with this locust vermin of priests and friars, that they will sooner believe an ass that comes from Rome with a pope's bull, than an angel from heaven that should be sent with the light of God's Word."

Such is the account of this barbarous transaction given by Rich, who followed the condemned from the Castle to the scene of their murder, and looked on with that morbid delight which such spectacles afford to imbruted natures. It is almost unnecessary to offer any comment on this ribald's narrative; for, notwithstanding its coarseness, it clearly shows that O'Devany's fortitude in presence of such a dreadful doom was all that the most zealous Catholic could have desired. By his death he expiated his weakness in making "suppliant memorial" to such heartless wretches as Jones

and Loftus, the Anglican bishops. As to the veneration shown by the Catholics of Dublin for the reliques of one whom they justly regarded as a martyr, need we say that it was in perfect keeping with the conduct of the early Christians, who, at a period not much worse than that in which O'Devany suffered, were wont to piously collect the mutilated limbs of their champions, nay, and the very instruments wherewith they were done to death, estimating them more valuable than gold, silver, and priceless gems?* Rich did not understand this; and he, doubtless, would have written in the same style had he been present when Polycarp was torn piecemeal by beasts, in the amphitheatre. Father O'Loghran met his fate as became him, piously and with that superhuman heroism which Heaven alone can inspire. The remains of both were interred in the old graveyard of St. James', Dublin; and thither, for many a generation, the citizens of Dublin, and pilgrims from the ends of Ireland, were wont to repair, on the anniversary of the execution, to pray beside their graves, according to sacred usage, sanctioned by apostolic constitutions.† "There was not," says the Four Masters, "a Christian in Ireland whose heart did not shudder at the terror of the martyrdom which this chaste, wise divine, and truly righteous man, suffered for the reward of his soul. The Christians who were then in Dublin vied with each other to have one of his limbs, and they

* The respect shown by the primitive Christians to the instruments of martyrdom cannot be doubted, for they were regarded as "*instrumenta triumphi supplicii*;" and for the reliques of those who died for the faith, no shrine was deemed too costly for them. "*Ossa Polycarpi gemmis pretiosissimis cariora, et quovis auro pretiosiora sepulta sunt ut decebat.*"—Ep. Eccl. Smyrnenis.

† "Congregamini in cœmeteriis lectionem sacrorum librorum facientes atque psallentes pro defunctis martyribus—eucharistiam offerte in ecclesiis vestris, et in cœmeteriis."—Const. Ap. apud Cotelar.

also had fine linen in readiness to prevent his blood falling to the ground; for they were convinced that the bishop was a holy martyr of the Lord."

This assertion of the Donegal annalists, however, may be questioned, for archbishop Jones, sir Arthur Chichester, and the whole staff of officials in the Castle, although baptized Christians, exulted over the bloody work, which they regarded in the light of a mere holyday spectacle. But view it as they might, the deputy could not shut his eyes to the effect which his ruthless conduct had wrought in the minds of the Catholics, from the centre to the remotest limits of the island. Instead of extinquishing popular veneration for the legally murdered bishop and priest, Chichester rather intensified it; and he himself all but confesses this, in a letter which he addressed to lord Salisbury, five days after the execution:—

"I have given charge," he writes, "to sir R. Cooke to tell you how obstinately the cities and corporate towns have demeaned themselves; how the priests abound everywhere, who sway and carry this people at their pleasure; how a titulary bishop and priest, being lately executed here for treason merely, are, notwithstanding, by them thought *martyrs*, and adored for *saints*."

Another victim however was wanting to satisfy his Excellency's lust of blood, and that was Eugene Mac Mahon, recently appointed archbishop of Dublin; but so lovingly did his people shelter him, that Chichester was obliged to complain "he never could get a *draught upon him*, albeit he had offered largely for it." Pitiable, in sooth, was the condition of this ogre, whose sanguinary cravings the Catholic citizens of Dublin refused to

gratify! His attempt to corrupt, by bribes and other artifices, were so many avowals of his guilty conscience; but the people—and they were the middle class—who harbored their archbishop, treated the deputy and his proclamation with the contempt and loathing both deserved.*

* The history of the Irish Church does not record a solitary instance of bishop or priest having been betrayed to the government by any of the middle class, which has always been the chief support of the clergy, and builders of their churches; whereas, it is notorious that lord Fleming of Slane, a Catholic, delivered O'Hurley, archbishop of Cashel, to Loftus, the queen's archbishop of Dublin, who caused him to be grilled to death, A.D. 1584. See Rev. Dr. Brady's "Alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops."

CHAPTER X.

ABOUT four months after O'Devany's execution, Cecil, earl of Salisbury, who had so long and so exclusively possessed king James' confidence, influencing his policy, and monopolizing the distribution of favors, passed out of this world.* The infamy of this statesman's career is notorious, for his whole life was a conspiracy against the Catholics, English as well as Irish, for whose utter extirpation he was incessantly contriving plots, and resorting to basest artifices. Cecil, as is well known, was a bitter enemy to O'Neill, and, indeed, to the Irish Catholics in general —against whose religious doctrines he found time to write a very indifferent treatise—and also a zealous advocate for the plantation of Ulster, and the settling there of colonies of Scotch and English, who were to sweep out the natives, and introduce "true religion and civility." There can be little doubt that he perused "the Articles" which the earls sent from Louvain to the king, and to which the latter never deigned a reply; and we may, therefore, infer that O'Neill deemed it entirely useless to make any further appeal to his majesty, while Cecil exercised predominant influence in the cabinet.

Meanwhile, Robert Carr of Fernyherst, member of

* May 4, 1612.

a family which distinguished itself in the cause of the unfortunate queen Mary of Scotland, had become the king's minion, acquiring great control over the monarch himself, and, through him, the government of the three kingdoms. Carr, in a word, was prime favorite, one of those "who had a good and gracious maker in this world;" and although he did not hold the official position of first minister, he, nevertheless, transacted state business as such, and also as principal secretary. The king received no suit or petition, except through him; nor did his majesty make any grant that did not first pass through the hands of Robert Carr. He himself was the recipient of broad lands and forfeited estates—the minion of minions, whom the king loved to honor, and for whom he thought no expenditure too great, because he was "straight-limbed, well-favored, smooth-faced, with some sort of *cunning* and show of modesty." In 1611 he was created baron Brancepeth, viscount Rochester, a knight of the Garter, and, soon after, earl of Somerset. The subsequent career and fate of this favorite is well known; how he married the lady Essex, after she had obtained sentence of divorce; connived at the murder of his secretary, sir Thomas Overbury; and how he and *she*, known in the annals of crime as the "beautiful devil," were brought to trial, and banished the court, with a pension of £4,000 a-year, to prevent the disclosure of a *dreadful secret*, which would have destroyed the king in the eyes of all mankind.

The story is not without its moral, for it shows that the idol, in the insolence of power, too often exacts painful sacrifices.

We are not aware that O'Neill was personally acquainted with Somerset; but it is certain that he thought the latter could, if he only wished it, influence

his majesty at one of those moments, when he "went about the court hanging about his favorite's neck, pinching his cheek, smoothing his ruffled garments, and blubbering in his face." Surely, it was only reasonable to suppose that the personage who was now, to all intents and purposes, first minister of the crown, and the envied of all beholders, in the most profligate of European courts, could, with one tender word, cause the effeminate king to *revoke* all he had said and done against O'Neill, and restore him to his estates. Bribes, too, for all sorts of services, were not novelties to the courtiers of James I.; and O'Neill, doubtless, had it in his power to compensate the favorite with red gold from the Spanish treasury, if he only interested himself ever so little in urging his suit. Influenced by such motives, and yearning for skies less sapphire than those of Italy, O'Neill addressed the following letter to the minion:—

"*Earl of Tyrone to the earl of Somerset.*

"Right hon. and my very good lord,—Inasmuch as I have been always desirous, since I came to these foreign countries, to labor my reconciliation with his most excellent majesty, I attempted sundry means whereby my humble petitions might come to his princely hearing, yet all, I know not by what causes, frustrated. Now, of late, finding no fitter means to effectuate what I long desired, I gave directions to some persons in Flanders to deal with his majesty's agent there concerning the same; who, after some time, resolved that he was warranted by your honor's letters to entertain confidence with those persons whom I have assigned for the purpose; which, when I understood, I

have sent a most humble petition to his most excellent majesty, not doubting the same to have a happy success, albeit, I did not receive his majesty's resolution, a great time being passed. Seeing it hath pleased your honor to interpose yourself in my affairs, whom I most earnestly beseech—in respect I have not given cause of indignation to his majesty, other than to leave his royal dominions without licence, being thereto constrained by unjust vexations, and sundry expressions of some ministers—to procure that his majesty may be pleased to receive me to his favor and grace, considering my innocence, and that none can justly affirm that ever I intended any hurt to his majesty's state and dignity. Wherein I hope your honor shall do his majesty service in representing to his clemency his subject's innocence, and to be living in exile, a most particular favor, thereby obliging me forever to be a servitor to your honor, to whom only I will ascribe, as to a principal actor, what good service I shall have in these my affairs and petitions. Expecting, with all expedition, your honor's resolution, and committing myself and my suit to your honorable care and patronage, I rest your honor's most affectionate friend.

"TYRONE.

"Rome, Dec. 1613."

We have sought in vain for Somerset's answer to the foregoing letter; but, indeed, it is likely enough he was then too much occupied with the masques and revels given by his majesty, in honor of his unhallowed nuptials, to concern himself about O'Neill or his suit. At all events, we can clearly perceive, by O'Neill's petition, that he utterly repudiated the charge of treasonable conspiracy so unblushingly made against

him by the lord deputy, Howth, Delvin, and others. As for the agent he employed to negotiate for him with Turnbull, then representing English interests at the court of the archdukes in Brussels, he was John Bath, a merchant of Drogheda, and the same who had carried the fugitives from Lough Swilly to the shores of Normandy. If we may rely on Turnbull's despatches, it is evident that the negotiation was afoot even before the death of Cecil, and that the latter saw the necessity of entertaining it. The terms demanded by O'Neill were that the king should restore him to his lands, with other concessions; and he also stipulated that, for his better assurance, his majesty should pass his royal word to Continental princes to maintain the conditions on which both might agree. But should his majesty refuse to grant all O'Neill demanded, the latter would prove to the world that he was compelled to have recourse to arms, and land with forces on the Irish shores. Viewing this matter according to our modern times, nothing seems more ludicrous than O'Neill's alternative of making war on the king of England; but it is to be borne in mind that the people of Ireland—those of the province of Ulster especially—were then so cruelly oppressed on the score of religion, and so harassed by the new settlers, that they were ready, at a moment's warning, to rally round the standard of their old chieftain, should he appear in their midst. Moreover, the king's troops then serving in Ireland were quite incompetent to deal with the people should they rise in a few of the counties, while the twelve years' truce between the Spanish crown and the United Dutch Provinces, left a large force of Irish in the archdukes' service unemployed, and only desirous for an opportunity to debark on their native coasts. Need we say that O'Neill was

intimately acquainted with king James' proverbial pusillanimity, and his unconquerable aversion to cold steel? Moreover, discontent and disaffection then pervaded all classes of the Irish people, and the treasury of the kingdom was unable to support anything like a respectable contingent. Chichester himself was aware of this, as appears from a passage in one of his letters, written at this period to Secretary Winwood :—

"The hearts of the Irish," says the deputy, "are against us : we have only a handful of men in entertainment, so ill-paid that every one is out of heart, and our resources so discredited, by borrowing and not repaying, that we cannot take up £1,000 in twenty days, if the safety of the kingdom depended upon it. The Irish are hopeful of the return of the fugitives, or invasion from foreign parts."

Good reason, therefore, had the king and his Irish officials to dread the appearance of O'Neill and the "practised Irish" in Ulster, or any other province of the kingdom.

After weighing all these circumstances, which were so well calculated to inspire most serious apprehensions, Cecil commanded the minister at Brussels to negotiate with Bath, whose overtures for Tyrone are given in the following despatch :—

"*William Turnbull to lord Burghley.*

"To captain Bath I have imparted the contents of your lordship's letters of the 18th, and have found him ready to attempt the performance of his overtures both concerning Tyrone and the colonel,* who, for his bet-

Henry O'Neill, Tyrone's son.

ter education, is also admitted to wait as a *minimo* [page] on the infanta. The said captain is constant in his former opinion, that if he might make a voyage to Rome, and speak with Tyrone in person, he should be able to draw him to his majesty's obedience upon terms of reason and indifferency. He telleth me that Tyrone is in Spring to remove from Rome, but to what place he cannot ascertain. His present condition doth induce him (seeing he is, for his majesty's service, to quit a pension, which he holdeth of the king of Spain, of forty crowns) to become a humble suitor that he may, with his pardon, have some certain means assigned him in Ireland, which he leaveth wholly to his majesty's gracious consideration, without prescribing anything on his part. If it should, in his majesty's wisdom and counsel, be found convenient to treat with Tyrone for his emission, I could rather wish that the business and managing thereof might be committed to this man than to the friars, both because I hold him to be more sincere, and much better affected towards his majesty and his country.

"He hath something to impart unto me for his majesty's service, touching certain practices now managed by certain religious men lately sent into Ireland; but being scrupulous in his conscience (as a Romanist) to put their lives in hazard, he most humbly beseeches his majesty that he may have his royal word and promise not to spill their blood, in case they be apprehended and found guilty.

"Yesternight I was told by a priest of my familiar acquaintance, that the Irish nation was so much disgusted with the oppositions (for so he termed them) of his majesty's ministers that have the command of that kingdom, as they were reduced to extreme despair; and it was thought if they had not some redress of the said

wrongs upon the return of his majesty's commissioners, lately sent thither for that purpose, that they would generally take arms, and cut the throats of the lord deputy and council; saying further, that he had heard an inkling of such a matter, and told me of it, to the end it might be timely prevented; and he added likewise that the Irish, not daring, for matter of conscience, to put that wicked design in practice, had sent the case hither to be consulted of among their divines," &c.

Now anent this Bath, in whom O'Neill placed such trust, it is to be observed that he was a double-dealing fellow, who, availing himself of the opportunity given him by the former to confer with the English minister, resolved to turn it his own account. For this character of the negotiator we are indebted to Turnbull, who wrote to the king commending him thus: "One John Bath, a merchant of Drogheda, being much disgusted with the earl of Tyrone, with whom he fled out of Ireland, hath earnestly entreated me to be his mediator towards your majesty for a pardon, and to be redintegrated into your majesty's favor and good opinion; and because he is a man of good experience and understanding, by whose coming home the said Tyrone's counsels shall be much weakened and his credit impaired; as also that Bath may be able to redeem his fault by doing some good service to your majesty."

Bath had already done good service to the king, for, allured by Turnbull's promises of "redintegration," he disclosed to the latter Tyrone's project of invading Ireland, and the means by which he thought he could accomplish such a venture. Turnbull attached great importance to the revelation, because Bath was an experienced mariner, had lived four years at Rome

under the same roof with the earl, and, consequently, was well acquainted with all his projects. Bath was also deeply interested for his uncle John [Bath], then residing in Ireland, and was ready to disclose more and more on condition that the king and his deputy would undertake to make provision for the latter. There is an ascetic proverb which says, that if the devil succeeds in catching one by a single hair of the head, he soon becomes master of the entire body; and something like this befel Bath; for Turnbull tempted, cajoled, and lured him step by step, till, eventually, he became a delator and betrayer of the unfortunate earl, at whose board he had been maintained by the pope and the king of Spain, in consideration of the good services he had rendered to the fugitives. We will now let Mr. Turnbull detail the important information which he obtained from Bath:

"*Advertisement and offers of service presented to his majesty by captain John Bath.*

"First, it had been consulted, before the earl of Tyrone should attempt any action, that he should demand of his majesty his lands, with certain other conditions; and for his better assurance, that his majesty should pass his royal word to foreign princes for maintaining the conditions agreed on; and if Tyrone's said attempt should fail, then that he might manifest to the world that he was forced to pretend a war.

"Then to employ captain John Bath to sea with such men of quality of the Irish regiment as should be thought fitting, with order to take the spoil of English and Hollanders; to receive into protection all pirates which are abroad, and to join with them; and when they should be able to make 4,000 or 5,000 men, to land in some part of Ireland most convenient for their purpose

upon the sea-coast, and to fortify, and there to employ certain principal men of each province to begin a tumult; and their shipping to be despatched to sea again to follow their former courses. In the meantime, Tyrone, with foreign forces, doth pretend to succor them.

"He will certify what pension Tyrone and Tyrconnel had before their departing out of Ireland, which was the greatest motive of their flight, fearing they were discovered. The merchant which was employed by Tyrone into Spain to receive his pension is now in Ireland.

"He will certify what merchants in Ireland have given certain intelligence.

"He doth presuppose, by all likelihood, that if it please his majesty to receive Tyrone to grace upon good terms, he will submit himself; and the reason of that persuasion is in regard that captain Bath hath labored these four years to draw him thereunto; for if his majesty think fit to employ captain Bath in that business, he must go to Rome and speak with Tyrone himself, because there are certain persons which would persuade him to the contrary.

"If, on Tyrone's return, there shall be found any difficulty, the said captain will endeavor to procure the colonel to submit himself to his majesty, his intention being thereunto well inclined.

"After having him, the said captain will, by all means, procure to bring over the earl of Tyrconnel,* whereby more that desire to succor them will withdraw their affection, and that will also be a means to disperse the Irish regiment.

"He will certify what knowledge Cormac O'Neill,

* He was then a page in the court of the archdukes, and had taken the name of Albert at Confirmation.

brother to Tyrone, had of his said brother's departure out of Ireland; and he will also give his majesty notice of the merchant's name that lately brought John O'Neill, son of the said Cormac, out of Ireland into these provinces.

"He will lay open unto the king of Spain what false relations father Florence and father Hugh Cawell* have given of certain persons, whereby their future relations shall lose all esteem with the said king.

"Of Emir Mac Collo Mac Mahon and of Magennis, his mother, he can say somewhat.

"These do pretend that Con O'Neill, son to Tyrone, should be secretly brought over the seas.

"He will procure his uncle, John Bath, to submit himself; and they two will acquaint those of the English race which are in Ireland and abroad with the malice and hatred borne against them by the mere Irish, and their will to do harm if they had power, which may be a means that those of the English race shall not have any desire to join with the others. He will not be tied to some of the above-written conditions more than lieth in his power, but will employ himself in them with as great zeal and fidelity as any other servant his majesty hath.

"This is the substance of captain Bath's advertisements and overtures, which I have seen written with his own hand, and have made this copy out of the original, almost verbatim.

"W. Turnbull."

Little, indeed, did O'Neill think that Bath† had been betraying him almost from the moment he left Ireland,

* M'Cawell, afterwards archbishop of Armagh.

† Bath was son of the widow of sir William Warren, in whose house at Drumcondra O'Neill was married to Mabel Bagnal.

through his friends and kinsmen there, but least of all, that he would have sold himself to the Belgian minister. In short, while O'Neill was preparing his approaches towards the Irish shores, his agent was employed countermining him at every step. Happily, however, for the earl, he was unconscious of all this turpitude. But there was another traitor, if possible baser than Bath, living in the same palace with O'Neill, and, like him, subsisting on the largess of Paul V. and the king of Spain. This individual was Robert Lombard, nephew to the venerable archbishop of Armagh ; for it was his misfortune—one of the greatest that can beset a bishop or priest—to be hampered with a crowd of brothers' and sisters' sons, who not only existed by him, but exposed him, according to the babble of gossipers, to the suspicion of nepotism and favoritism, which, were it true as it was false, would have been a blur on the archiepiscopal purple. Well, this Robert being a very worthless nephew,* and tired probably of his do-nothing life at Rome, bethought him that he might provide for himself by waiting on sir Dudley Carleton, then British minister at Venice, and disclosing to him all he knew of O'Neill's designs. Full of this idea, and feigning a fit of devotion, he set out from Rome, and with money enough in his pocket took a passage from Ancona to Venice, where he presented himself to Carleton, and disburdened himself of all the secrets he had learned in the Salviati Palace. The hypocrisy which this man unblushingly avowed, is ample reason for discrediting his statement regarding the countess of Tyrone ;† but as to his other

* The etymology of nepos (nephew) is curious. Columella says it signifies a *sucker*—"In vines *nepos* means"—and others derive it from *Ne* (*i.e.*, non), and *posse*, equivalent to worthless.—See Sheller's Lexicon.

† Propriety forbids the publication of Lombard's libel.

assertions, there can be little doubt that they were well founded, and garnered at the convivial board. Carleton's history of the whole transaction is very graphic, and we will let himself relate it :—

"*Sir Dudley Carleton to the king.*

"Venice, 8th March, 1613.

"On Saturday last here came unto me an Irish gentleman, for so his speech and appearance declared him, naming himself Robert Lombard, born at Waterford, but bred up on this side of the sea. He saith he is nephew to Peter Lombard, titular primate of Armagh, by whom and by the cardinal Borghese, whom he depends upon, he is maintained in Rome, and lodgeth with his uncle in the same palace with the earl of Tyrone. His coming to me he pretended to be expressly to give your majesty information of Tyrone's purpose to leave Rome and go into Flanders, from whence he doth suspect he intends to transport these Irish companies, which are there in the king of Spain's service, into Ireland, and there raise rebellion. This he saith he hath by secret information, and confirmed the same unto me by these circumstances.

"That in January last, at the Spanish ambassador, Don F. di Castro's departure from Rome to Naples, the day before he set forward he sent for Tyrone, with the rest of the *northern Irish*, his followers, into a vineyard outside the town, and showed them the king of Spain's letters for their transmigration to Brussels. That since his return from Naples he hath again many times conferred with Tyrone touching his going, and offered of himself to supply him with money for his journey in case no order came out of Spain in fit time,

for which he had written. That they rested in appointment together to acquaint the pope this present *holy week with their purpose*, and likewise to demand of him *that he would take upon him the name of any enterprise* Tyrone should undertake in his country, in case he would contribute no further succors, whereof his *avarice* did make them despair. That Tyrone, whilst he is *his own man*, is always *much reserved*, pretending ever his *desire of your majesty's grace*, and by that means only to *adoperate* his return to his country; but when he is *vino plenus et ira*, as he is commonly once a night, and therein is *veritas*, *he doth then declare his resolute purpose to die in Ireland*, and both he and his company do usually *in that mood* dispose of governments and provinces, and make new commonwealths. That there would be a house provided for Tyrone at Brussels, where he thought he would make show of settling himself, and so remain for a time, whereby to attend the opportunity of transporting himself with commodity and secrecy.

"That for the better transportation of the Irish out of Flanders, they have been long since quartered in Ostend, Nieuport, and other port-towns of that province, which he guessed was thus done purposely *beforehand*, that the drawing them into those parts when Tyrone should be there present might not breed jealousy. That howsoever the late *reformation* took place in Flanders, the *Irish are exempted*, and order given for restoring their pensions, and *receiving into pay* as many of that nation as shall present themselves. And finally that this is a fit opportunity for their enterprise, owing to the wants of England, Scotland, *distractions in Ireland;* and *Tyrone's age and weakness growing upon him*, necessitates them to defer the time no longer.

"I asked him his reasons for making this discovery

to me, seeing he lives in exile as those of his nation do, professeth the same religion, and therefore may seem to run the same fortune. His answer was, first, a hope to obtain hereby the grace and favor of your majesty. Next, that *religion was the pretence of their designs, but ambition the true motive.* Lastly, he said, that in case Tyrone should succeed in his enterprise, the condition of all the other provinces to be subject to those *Ulster lords* would be most *miserable;* if he failed, which was likely, that then your majesty's clemency would be turned into so great displeasure, that they could promise themselves nothing but the oppression of their persons, and utter extirpation of their religion. And that most of the other Irish who were abroad, particularly his uncle, the bishop of Armagh, and one Wise, the grand prior, *his kinsman*, who lives upon a Spanish pension at Naples, were of the same mind.

"*Neither of them, he said, knew of his journey to me;* and that his pretence of absenting himself from *Rome*, was the following: *the prior*, now come in devotion to *Loretto*, who, he said, hath long since known of *Tyrone's* purpose to go into *Flanders*, but suspects no further design.

"And for his uncle, the bishop, he insisted so much upon his integrity and loyalty, besides his love and devotion to your majesty's person and service, as if the effect of his coming unto me had been to negotiate in his favor.

"There may be amongst these men *majus and minus, but there is little trust in any of that nation of a contrary religion, especially those who have frequented* Rome and Spain. And I cannot but apprehend the coming of the *prior* at this present to Rome, where he hath not been many years before; and the more, in that I have another information both of his *opinion*

and *affection* than this party gives me, in that he delivered in confidence, about a year since, to one of whom I have the relation, *that he was well assured those would have hard keeping and enjoying of Tyrone's land that now possessed it, as formerly others have had with his predecessors, who were always able to patronise themselves.* And in further discourse declared so much disaffection, that my informer concludes him to be as great an enemy to the present government as can be of the *Irish.*

"It is likewise considerable, that the companies of the *Irish* in the Low Countries are most of them composed of men drawn out of other provinces, though the *captains* made or changed since Tyrone's coming over are all of them of the *north;* and unless they were well assured of their affections, they would not presume of their persons.

"I hear there is one Meth, a merchant in Cork, in Munster, pensioner to Spain, who hath thirty crowns a month paid him in Naples. He is now coming to *Rome*, from thence goeth to *Bourdeaux*, pretending, as this party saith, to be nearer his friends, whereby to hear often from them. But I have formerly understood, by another hand from Naples, he gives out his business is to send wines into *Ireland*, for which this is not the season; *and, therefore, it may be suspected he will be a merchant of munition.* And I am entered at the present into some doubt, that this party's coming to me, without any foreknowledge of him, or he pretending anything of me, *may be to breed amusement with news of a journey into* Flanders; whilst, according to two former expeditions, made in the time of the late queen and Gregory XIII.—the first by *Stukely*, diverted into *Portugal*, and the second in Desmond's wars, defeated in *Ireland*, both under countenance of the pope, and

at the charge of the Spaniard, and both sent by sea directly out of *Italy* towards *Ireland*, in ships of *Genoa*—they may embark themselves in the pope's dominions, or some other parts of Italy, with assistance of strangers, and take the same course; the opportunity serving so aptly of these forces now on foot in Italy, and shipping already prepared against the *Turks*, whereof the use depends upon uncertainties.

"And particularly there is great quantity of arms lately transported from *Milan* to *Genoa*, which must be designed to some place where the people are unfurnished, in that all the Spanish and Italian companies, now on foot in these parts, are completely armed. This provision is as proper for the *Grecks* in *Morea* and *Dalmatia* as for the *Irish;* but the late discovery and impaling the bishop of *Antivari*,* and cutting in pieces all his confederates, shows that intelligence to be broken; and whilst the memory thereof is so fresh, it is not likely that people will run the same hazard. I have this further suspicion of this person, *that he should be purposely employed to engender an opinion of their going by land, that the less care may be taken of intercepting by sea, in that he refused such offers as I made for discharging of his journey;* and as I have learned since his departure, he was at extraordinary expense in his inn, besides the payment of his bark to Ancona, which he hired expressly, and at a high rate, *which shows his expenses to proceed out of some better purse than his own;* though there may be another argument made of *his ingenuity*, in not being *mercenary*. It

* This is an allusion to a fearful slaughter committed by a band of freebooters at Segna, on the bay of Quarnero. They were called *Uscocchi*—a rabble of various countries, Croats, Dalmatians, and even English, who lived by piracy. See Sketches from Venetian History, vol. ii. p. 363.

may be presumed, that if *Tyrone* ship himself in these parts, the *Irish* regiment in the *Low Countries* shall have assignation to meet him; but of this I shall be watchful, as likewise if the other information be true; and if he takes his journey through any place where your majesty hath friends, *I will not fail to waylay him in that sort that is fit.** I have written this week by the ordinary of *Lyons*, both to *Turin* and *Paris*, concerning his remove from *Rome* to *Brussels*, that there may be the greater vigilance in advertising your majesty, and doing those offices in time which are fit for your service.

"This party tells me that *Tyrone* hath been with Monsieur *de Breves*, the *French* ambassador at *Rome*, to demand safe conduct for himself and his wife through France; but his opinion is, they will go in several companies, and set forward before the end of this next month. He hath undertaken to give me knowledge what is concluded between the *Spanish* ambassador and the *pope* touching this business, with such other circumstances as are necessary for your majesty's knowledge and service; for which purposes he took addresses for letters and departed hence Monday last. He came from *Rome*, $\frac{5}{15}$ of this present.

"He told me the chief instruments and agents in this practice were: in *Rome*, one Darby-Cnoghor [O'Conor], a friar of St. Francis, who daily, and almost hourly, passes betwixt *Tyrone* and the *Spanish ambassador;* in Spain, Florence Conry of *Connaught*, named archbishop of *Tuam* and *Dublin*.†

"And upon this man's practising, whom he described

* That is, to have him assassinated.

† This is utterly false. Conry was never named archbishop of Dublin, and never came to Ireland after his appointment to the see of Tuam.

to be as able and active as wicked and malicious, he conceives most of this enterprise to be founded. He said further, these *Irish* do not desire the assistance of strangers, whom experience shows to be unfit for the service of that country, only they require to have writings from *Rome* and dollars from *Spain*."

The foregoing documents prove that a relentless fate pursued O'Neill at home and abroad, and that it was his destiny to be surrounded by dissembling friends, who, looking to their own sordid interests, determined to make capital out of his misfortunes. They well knew that there was not the faintest hope of a reconciliation between the king and the illustrious exile; and, as for the latter, he entirely miscalculated the chances of a breach in the friendly relations then existing between the cabinets of England and Spain, which would have enabled him to make a descent on the shores of Ulster. The twelve years' truce, concluded in 1609—when the archdukes, in their own names and in that of the king of Spain, recognized the independence of the United Provinces—was guaranteed by the sovereigns of France and England; and although to all appearances temporary, it was destined to run its allotted time, scrupulously observed by the contracting parties.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding his many disappointments, O'Neill had good reason to be grateful to the king of Spain and the Catholic sovereigns in the Low Countries; for his son, Brian, or, as he was more commonly styled, Don Bernardo, was named to the command of a regiment,* and appointed *minimo* or page to the

* He was then only fifteen years old; but we are to bear in mind that it was not unusual at that period to confer a regiment on infants of the royal family of Spain, and other Catholic monarchs. Even in the Church, we find mere children named to abbacies and

archduchess Isabella. The young earl of Tyrconnel, then not quite ten years of age, was also made a member of their highnesses' household, and a page to the archduke Albert, who was his godfather in confirmation. As for the Irish fugitive ladies who resided at Brussels, the archduchess was unremitting in her attentions to them, and received them at her court with all the honors bestowed on the highest nobility. She, indeed, was their sympathizing friend, for she regarded them as princesses, driven into exile by a cruel and unprincipled monarch.

But the most memorable event of this year, 1613, was the parliament held in Dublin, to attaint O'Neill and the rest of the fugitive nobles of treason, and confiscate their vast territories, which, according to the recent Ordnance Survey, consisted of above two millions three hundred thousand acres,* over which O'Neill, O'Donel, and their sub-chiefs, exercised ancient suzerainty. King James was at peace with the Continental sovereigns; and having nothing to ruffle him in his profligate court but the discontent of the Irish and the petitions of his greedy parasites, he resolved to strike a blow which he foolishly imagined would convince the banished lords, and their adherents at home, that they never should regain their lost estates.

bishoprics, as in the case of Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., who held the abbacy of Fonte-dolce when only seven years old, and, at the same time, was nominated, by the king of France, to the archbishopric of Aix.

* J. O'Donovan.

CHAPTER IX.

EVERY parliament assembled in Ireland (and the first of them was convened 1374, in the reign of Edward III.) had for its object the enactment of cruel laws against the native Celts, and the sanctioning, by its authority, of the plunder and robbery which, under the name of confiscations, were carried on by the executive, the deputies, and their officials. In order more effectually to accomplish this, the deputies always contrived to command an overwhelming majority in the upper and lower houses, whose benches were invariably filled by obsequious expectants, who were always ready to pass whatsoever acts the former thought it expedient to frame.*

* "As for the principal parliaments which have been holden during the reigns of king Henry VIII., queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth (for king Edward VI. did call no parliament in Ireland), they were all summoned upon special and particular occasions, and not for the general settlement of the whole kingdom. For to what end was the parliament holden by the lord Leonard Grey, in 28th year of Henry VIII., but to attaint the Geraldines, and to abolish the usurped authority of the pope? Wherefore did sir Anthony St. Leger call the next parliament after, in 38th year of Henry VIII, but to invest that prince with title of "king of Ireland," and to suppress the abbeys and religious houses? To what purpose did Thomas, earl of Sussex, hold his first parliament, in 3rd and 4th years of king Philip and queen Mary, but to settle Leix and Offaly (now King and Queens counties) in the crown? And his second, in the second year of queen Elizabeth's reign, but to establish the re-

The last parliament held during the reign of queen Elizabeth was that of 1585 ; and in the long interval of twenty-seven years, that is, till the eleventh of James I., the deputies and their privy councils legislated as they liked for the government of the entire island. But the time had now come for assembling another parliament, as the king wished to obtain its sanction to the attainder of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, and those who fled with them. The lord deputy Chichester was equally interested in this momentous business, and very intent on passing a series of hard measures against the adherents of the old religion—then as now constituting the great mass of the Irish people—whom this rapacious bigot never ceased to revile and exasperate.

Apprehending that sir Arthur Chichester contemplated the utter extirpation of Catholicity in Ireland, a large section of the nobility of the pale professing that religion, addressed an energetic remonstrance to the king, complaining that additional grievances were about to be enacted against them ; but they might as well have abstained from doing so, since the only answer they got was, that they had acted rashly and insolently. Withal, the apprehensions of the Catholic nobles were but too well-founded ; for one Knox, a low-bred fanatic, and, by the grace of James I., bishop of Raphoe, had been persuading the deputy that the only sure means

formed religion in this kingdom? What was the principal cause that sir Henry Sydney held a parliament in the 11th year of queen Elizabeth, but to extinguish the name of O'Neill, and entitle the crown to the greater part of Ulster? And, lastly, what was the chief motive of the last parliament holden by sir John Perrott, but the attainder of the two great peers of this realm—the viscount Baltinglass and the earl of Desmond—and for investing their lands and the lands of their adherents in the actual possessions of the crown."—Davys' Hist. Tracts, pp. 305 6.

of outrooting "Popery" in Ireland, was to banish or massacre the Papists, and then confiscate their properties. The sentiments of this so-called bishop of Raphoe—whose bloody instincts would have better qualified him to be a chief of Mohammedan dervishes—were shared by his colleagues; and there is little doubt that Chichester would have attempted to realize them, if the king had not placed him under some restraint.

King James' Irish parliament was convoked for the 18th May, and Chichester, in the meantime, had taken special care to be able to command a majority in both houses completely subservient to his unscrupulous designs. In all preceding parliaments only thirty boroughs returned representatives, but in this forty-seven new boroughs, created for the occasion, were to have members. Each and all of these boroughs were poor, mean, and contemptible—some of them consisting of a few mud cabins, hastily got up by the "settlers"—and without a single claim to representation.* Nevertheless, each was to return two members, elected, in the north especially, by Protestants, who

* "A number of new boroughs, most of them inconsiderable, and many of them too poor to afford wages to their representatives, must entirely be influenced by government, and must return its creatures and immediate dependents. Such an accession of power could not fail to encourage the administration to act without reserve, and pursue the dictates of its passions and resentments."—Leland, ii. p. 442. The petition of the Irish lords to king James complained of the same. It states that:—"A fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations in places that can scantily pass the rank of the poorest villages in the poorest country in Christendom, do tend to nought else at this time, but that by the voices of a few selected for the purpose under the name of burgesses, extreme penal laws should be imposed upon your subjects here."—Idem.

"The deputy continued to increase the number of new boroughs to forty, of which several were not incorporated until the writs for summoning a parliament had already been issued,"—Leland, ii. 445. See also Crawford's "History of Ireland," i. 346.

had a particular interest in sweeping out the native Irish. As many of the boroughs as could do so were to pay their representatives a daily stipend during the sessions, but most of them were too poor to afford even a moderate wage to their ignorant and beggarly nominees. Good reason, indeed, had the Catholics to be alarmed at this extraordinary innovation, the scope of which was so patent; but even so, they would have been able to command a majority in the lower house, had the government only acted fairly with them. But instead of this, Chichester, with the king's connivance, incorporated many of the new boroughs before issuing the writs for the elections, and continued even after the writs had been issued to incorporate others. This was decidedly contrary to all precedent and forms of law; but what cared the sovereign and his deputy, provided they realized their unconstitutional projects? Sir John Davys, as might be expected, was an active agent and organizer in this infamous proceeding, of which, as we shall see hereafter, he was the unblushing apologist.

Scandalous and unparalleled as this proceeding was, many of the elections were, if possible, still more so; for nearly every one of the newly-created boroughs was represented by two individuals of no character, no property, and no principle, save the selfish one of benefiting themselves. Many of them were officials in the pay of the government, and all of them would willingly vote for any measure that contemplated the extermination of the "barbarous Irish," and the extinction of their "idolatrous worship." What else could have been expected from individuals whose total dependence was on the executive, and who had no means of support except what it gave them, or held out, by way of bribe, to their expectations?

Never, indeed, at any former period, did Ireland

witness such profligate contempt of justice as this parliament was destined to exhibit; for many of its members were Englishmen, having no residence in Ireland; judges, who returned themselves; and, if we may credit lord Mountmorris,* even felons, whose flagitious crimes excluded them from the benefit of the law. To add to the gross injustice of all this, we may not omit to mention that no writs were issued to sundry boroughs, which, by reason of their ancient charters, were fully entitled to return representatives. In fact, nothing that the executive could do to effect their main object was left undone; and although money was scant at the time, Chichester's agents expended large sums in the most shameless bribery. Corruption was the order of the day, and no price was deemed too great to secure a government majority. As for the house of lords,† it was composed of fifty members, of whom one-half consisted of bishops of that alien Church, whose chiefest aim was, and has ever been, to sweep out the native population, since proclamations and penalties could not warp them from the religion of their fathers. The total number returned to the house of commons was 226, of whom 101 were Catholics, thus giving the government a decided majority, most of whom were chosen from the lowest stratum of society—barbers, quack-doctors, hall-porters, and lawyers'-clerks,‡ who must have wondered at finding themselves transfigured into senators.

* "Transactions of the Irish Parliament."

† Touching the spiritual peers, bishop Montgomery, who was one of them, writes thus: "The establishment of bishoprics will be a great strength in the higher house of parliament for enacting statutes for the general reformation of Ireland in religion, which otherwise than by their means will hardly be yielded in that house, the whole nobility in that kingdom, some few excepted, being all professed Catholics."

‡ O'Sullivan, Hist. Cath. Hib. p. 309.

On the 18th May, 1613, Chichester, now baron of Belfast, riding a sumptuously-caparisoned horse, and attired in a robe of purple velvet sent him by the king, the train of which was borne by eight gentlemen, proceeded from the Castle to St. Patrick's, with all the peers of the realm dressed in scarlet robes, to assist at service there, and hear a sermon preached by Christopher Hampton, pseudo-archbishop of Armagh, recently intruded into that primatial see. The procession,* according to contemporary authorities, was very stately, as beseemed the occasion; the lord Barry carrying the sword of state, and lord Thomond the cap of maintenance, while the Castle guns and the blare of trumpets might be heard far away north and south of the Liffey. On reaching the old cathedral, however, the Catholic nobility and gentry remained outside, till Chichester and his immediate retinue had gone through the solemn farce of invoking heaven's blessing on the unscrupulous robbery which he was about to perpetrate in the name of law and justice. This done, he and his officers of state returned to the Castle in manner as they came. It is remarkable that all the members of the house of commons do not appear as figuring in this pageant; but the absence of many of them—those of the newly-created boroughs especially—may be attributed to their want of becoming attire, and the dread of facing the public, who, like dogs, have instinctive aversion to rags. It was a wise precaution to leave them in their places in the Castle, for, unquestionably, the members for such boroughs as Carrickdrumrusk, Limavady, Ardee, Dingle-coish, and Cloghnakilty would have looked like beggars bidden to a bridal.† The session opened with an unseemly

* Chichester is said to have expended £10,000 on this occasion.

† See the Roll of the Commons' House in Appendix.

brawl about the election of Speaker. The Catholics chose sir John Everard, but the partisans of sir John Davys dragged the former from the chair, and set the attorney-general in his place, declaring him duly elected. Pending the settlement of this momentous business, the deputy had filled the Castle and its approaches with military, to overawe the "Papists," both inside and outside that *deliberative* assembly. The question of the speakership being decided, the Catholic members petitioned against the returns from certain places, but only succeeded in two—namely, the boroughs of Cavan and Kildare, both places being hotbeds of corruption, and designed, as sir John Davys tells us, "to be perpetual seminaries of Protestant burgesses, their charters providing that the provost and twelve chief burgesses, who are to elect all the rest, must always be such as will take the oath of supremacy."

As it is not our intention to go into a detailed history of this parliament, which neither represented the population nor the wealth of Ireland, landed or commercial, we must confine ourselves to a brief account of a few incidents, in order to show that it was an assemblage organized to establish ascendancy, and rob the fugitive nobles of their estates. After vainly protesting against the election of Davys to the speakership, the Catholics sent four of their own religion to lay their complaints before the king. The deputation was accompanied by lords Fermoy, Killeen, Delvin, sir Patrick Barnwell, and some lawyers. Having obtained access to the royal presence, and represented their grievances, the king told them that, as Papists, they were only half subjects, and therefore deserved only half privileges. Nothing daunted by this specimen of James' dialectics, the deputies remonstrated against the returns of the newly-created boroughs; but all they could get from his ma-

jesty was, that "it ill-became any subject to dispute his power in such point;" remarking, at the same time, "What is it to you whether I make few or many boroughs? what if I created forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs?—the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer!"

Little, indeed, did James trouble himself about the statements of the recusants, titled or untitled, for he had been already assured by his deputy that he knew not any false or undue return made; and that he thought all the returns of Protestants would not fail to be legal without any just exception. Having insulted them thus, he commanded them to return to Ireland, admonishing them at their peril to attend their parliamentary duties, the chiefest of which was to levy supplies of money for the revels of his lewd court. Two of the recusant agents, Talbot and Luttrell, were committed prisoners, one to the Tower, and the other to the Fleet; and on reaching Dublin, sir James Gough was imprisoned in the Castle. Such was the redress given to the Catholic deputies; and when we remember their hostility to O'Neill, at a period when, by joining him, they might have saved their common country and religion from being trodden down by this pedantic king, we must conclude that they deserved no better. They doubtless fancied that remonstrances coming from such men as Killeen, Delvin, Trimbleston, and others of their order, would have great weight; but they were signally disappointed, and found to their cost that James refused to reimburse the expenses they had incurred by crossing the Channel; nay more, that he regarded them one and all with supreme contempt. The only good trait in their character—if, indeed, they deserved commendation for it—was fidelity to their religion; but as for any real good they ever did their country, we would look

for it in vain, since the Catholic nobility of the pale were ever foremost in maintaining English oppression, so long as it did not interfere with their territorial possessions.

It is probable, however, that some deference was shown to their expostulations, when this parliament withdrew certain bills which had been prepared for the expulsion of seminary priests and the lay professors of Popery; and to the same consideration we may likewise attribute the favorable entertainment of a petition, praying that Catholic lawyers, who would not take the supremacy oath, might be allowed to plead at the bar. These, indeed, were the only concessions for which the Irish people were indebted to this sham parliament, and for which the Catholic members—a mean and spiritless body—professed themselves deeply grateful.

But the grand object for which this parliament assembled was not consummated till October, 1614, when sir John Everard, member for "Crosse, Tipperary," and leader of the Catholic section in the commons' house, brought in the bill for confiscating the vast territories of the fugitive earls and their adherents in six counties of Ulster, amounting, as has been already stated, to above two million acres. This, in fact, was the most memorable as well as most fatal act ever done by any one in his position; but before we describe the progress and accomplishment of this most unparalleled legal plunder, we may not omit a brief sketch of the time-serving Catholic leader.

Everard was a native of Fethard, co. Tipperary, and, being learned in the law, had attained the chief justiceship of the king's bench, which, however, he forfeited because he could not be induced to take the oath of supremacy. There can be no doubt that he was in necessitous circumstances after his remov ' from the

bench, for his constituents had to make him an allowance of two hundred pounds during the long sessions. What other qualification, besides his legal knowledge, he may have possessed for the leadership of the "recusant members," we know not; but there is good reason to suppose that he thought he might make it useful in advancing his material interests. Everard, in a word, was a wretched temporiser—one of those despicable Catholics, who, at the hustings, secured the suffrages of the people on the plea of religion—a mean, crawling creature, who courted the smiles of the aristocracy, and whose political temperature was regulated by that of the deputy's and speaker's kitchens. With such a "leader"—ah, when will Irish constituencies discredit such impostors?—it was easy for Chichester to foresee that the other Catholic members would make no opposition to the bill attainting Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and the other fugitives, and vesting six whole counties of Ulster in the crown.

We can easily imagine the applause which greeted this contemptible Everard, when he moved *the* bill, and how the beggarly members for Limavady, Killileagh, Newtown-in-le-Ardes, and such places, then consisting of a few straggling farmhouses, cheered him to the echo for his liberality, and obsequious deference to the royal wishes. The annals of Irish parliaments record no conduct more flagitious than this, which is rendered still more execrable when we remember that its prime mover was a Catholic leader, or, in other phrase, a trader on the credulity of those who sent him to parliament. Everard was intimately acquainted with the feelings of the Catholic peers in the upper house, and knew that they cared nothing for the fugitive earls; but, on the contrary, were only too anxious to exhibit their liberality by sanctioning the confiscation of Ulster.

So long as their own lands escaped the rapacity of the crown, and they themselves had "toleration" to practise their religion within the walls of their castles, it mattered little to them what became of the estates of those whose forefathers held them for many an age before the days of the Second Henry. Peers and commons, they were one and all insensible to the dictates of honor and conscience, and solely intent on catering to the king's avarice. Not a single voice was raised to deprecate the gigantic swindle; and in vain did Florence Conry, archbishop of Tuam, warn them against the line of conduct which he foresaw they were all bent on adopting. His remonstrance,* addressed to them from the cloister of Valladolid, and bearing in its every line the impress of a great mind, religious and patriotic, they treated with neglect; nor was there, in that large muster of Catholic members, even one in whom it awakened a responsive echo. All of them connived at the iniquitous spoliation; and it sickens one's heart to find such names as Wadding, Talbot, Nugent, and other Catholics, figuring prominently in this nefarious business. The same may be said of the Catholic lords, since we find Gormanstown, Killeen, Delvin, and others of their religion, leaguing with the baron of Howth, and exercising whatever ability they possessed to deprive men, unheard in their own justification, of their ancient inheritances. They were all veriest slaves and cravens, abettors of absolutism in its most revolting phase, for they, one and all, subscribed the dogma, "that no man ought to rise against the sovereign either for religion or justice, and that recourse to arms was never lawful where parity doth not exist"—*Vim vi repellere licet ubi paritas, non aliter.* But they little knew

* See it translated in Appendix.

that they were sowing the whirlwind, and were destined to soon reap the storm.

On the 19th October, Wadding, one of the members for the city of Waterford, moved that the bill for the attainder of Tyrone and Tyrconnel should be conferred with the names set forth in the bill of indictment; and this being moved, the bill was that day read a second time, and committed to twenty-one members, comprising among others sir Toby Caulfield, Luttrell, Oliver Lambert, sir Hugh Montgomery, brother to the pluralist bishop of that ilk, each of whom had a special interest in the confiscations.

On the 28th of same month the bill of attainder passed both houses, and on the day following the lord deputy came in his parliamentary robes to the house of peers, lord Gormanstown carrying the cap of maintenance before his excellency; the baron of Kerry and Lixnaw, the sword of state; and the baron of Howth, as beseemed him, his lordship's train. Chichester then, standing erect in the midst of that assemblage of peers and commons, gave the royal assent to the act of recognition of his majesty's title to the crown of Ireland, and to the attainder of the earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and their followers, which runs thus:—

"In most humble manner beseeching your most excellent majesty, your loyal, faithful, and true-hearted subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons, in this present parliament assembled: That whereas Hugh, late earl of Tyrone; Rory, late earl of Tyrconnel; Hugh O'Neill, late baron of Dungannon, and eldest son of the said earl of Tyrone; Henry O'Neill, second son of the said earl of Tyrone; sir Cahir O'Dogherty, late of Burt Castle, in the county of Donegal, knight; Cuconnaught Maguire, late of Enniskillen, in the

county of Fermanagh, esq.; Oghy Oge O'Hanlon, eldest son of sir Oghy O'Hanlon, knight, late of Tovergy, in the county of Armagh, esq.; Caffer O'Donel, brother to the late earl of Tyrconnel, late of Caffersconec, in the said county of Donegal, esq.; Caffer Oge O'Donel, late of Scarfollis, in the said county of Donegal, esq.; Doud Oge O'Donel, late of Donegal, esq.; Brian Oge M'Mahon, late of Clonleege, in the county of Monaghan, gent.; Art Oge M'Cormack O'Neill, late of Clogher, in the county of Tyrone, esq.; Henry Hovendon, late of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, gent.; Mortogh O'Quyn, late of the same, gent.; Richard Weston, late of Dundalk, merchant; John Bath, late of Dunalong, merchant; Christopher Plunket, late of Dungannon, gent.; John Opunty O'Hagan, late of the same, gent.; John Bath, late of Drogheda, merchant; Hugh M'Donnell O'Gallochor, late of the same, gent; Tirelagh Garragh O'Gallochor, late of the same, gent.; Phelim Reagh M'Davit, late of Elagh, Donegal, gent.; John Crone M'Davit, late of the same, gent.; Edmond Grome M'Davit, late of the same, gent.; Matthew Oge O'Multully, late of Donegal, gent.; Donogh M'Mahon O'Brian, late of Rathmullen, Donegal, gent.; Henry O'Hagan, late of Dungannon, gent.; Teigue O'Hagan, late of the same, gent.; and Teigue Modder O'Quin, late of the same, gent.; most falsely and traitorously, as well by open rebellion in divers parts of this your majesty's realm of Ireland, as well as by sundry treacherous confederacies and conspiracies, have committed, perpetrated, and done many detestable and abominable treasons against your majesty, tending to the utter subversion and ruin of the state and commonwealth of this kingdom, of which treasons the said Hugh, late earl of Tyrone, &c., &c.: it may please your most excellent majesty, of your gracious disposition, which your

highness doth bear towards the settling of this unreformed kingdom, and as well for the comfort of your true and loyal subjects, as for an example and terror to all rebellious and traitorous persons, that all and every the attainders of the persons above-named be approved and confirmed by the authority of this present parliament. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, as well the said Hugh, late earl of Tyrone, &c., &c., and every one of them, stand and be adjudged persons convicted and attainted of high treason; and that as many of the said offenders and persons before-named as be yet in life, and not pardoned for the same offences, shall and may, at your highness' will and pleasure, suffer pains of death, as in cases of high treason; and that all and every of the said offenders by this present act attainted for the said treasons, shall be declared and adjudged to have lost and forfeited to your highness, and to your heirs and successors, from the time of their several treasons committed, all and every such honors, territories, countries, castles, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, possessions, rights, conditions, interests, offices, fees, annuities, and all other their hereditaments, goods, chattels, debts, and other things of whatsoever names, manner, or qualities, they be, which they or any of them had to their or any of their uses, or which any other had to their or any of their uses, on any of the days of their several treasons committed, perpetrated, or done, or at any time since then. Provided always and nevertheless be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this act, or anything therein contained, shall not in any wise extend to make void any grant, gift, lease, or demise made by our sovereign lord the king, of any of the said honors, to any person or persons, by letters-patent under the great seal of Ireland, or under the great seal of England, at any time

or times since the said treasons were committed, but that the same gifts, grants, and leases, and every one of them, shall stand and be of force and effect in the law to all intents and purposes, anything in this act contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided, nevertheless, that this act shall not extend to ratify, confirm, or make good any letters-patent heretofore made to the said Hugh, late earl of Tyrone, Rory, late earl of Tyrconnel, Cuconnaught Maguire, deceased, father of the said Cuconnaught Maguire above-mentioned in this act, sir Cahir O'Dogherty, knight, and the said Brian Oge M'Mahon, or to any or either of them; and all estates, gifts, or grants in use, possession, reversion, or remainder, granted, limited, or mentioned to be granted or limited to any person or persons whatsoever in and by any letters-patent made unto the said Hugh, late earl of Tyrone, Rory, late earl of Tyrconnel, Cuconnaught Maguire, the father, sir Cahir O'Dogherty, knight, and Brian Oge M'Mahon, or any or either of them, be utterly repealed, and from henceforth deemed and adjudged void to all intents, constructions, and purposes, anything in this present act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Three days afterwards, sir John Davys, who played such a leading part in bringing about this unexampled proscription and confiscation, addressed the following letter to one of the lords of the king's privy council. It is a most valuable document, and we, therefore, give it in its entirety:—

"My most honorable good lord,—It may please your lordship to receive a short advertisement, first, of the manner of our meeting; next, of the course of our

proceeding in this present session of parliament here in Ireland.

"1. Touching the manner of our meeting on the 11th day of this month of October, which was the day whereunto the last session was prorogued, all the members of both houses, as well the recusants as the Protestants, making a full and dutiful appearance in the Castle of Dublin, the lord deputy sent several messages to the lords and commons, signifying that he was to impart unto them his majesty's pleasure, in some points of importance, touching the parliament, and that to that end, they should forthwith repair into a spacious room in the Castle, prepared and furnished for that purpose. To that place they came accordingly, where the lord deputy, standing under the cloth of estate, made a short speech, expressing how glad he was to see them all assembled in that place, and that now he conceived good hope that they would continue together in concord and amity; the rather, because his majesty, by his royal judgment, had reconciled all differences, which judgment his majesty himself had pronounced in the hearing of divers of them who were present then in England; and yet, to the end that such as were absent also might understand from himself his princely pleasure in some principal points, his majesty had signified the same by a special letter, which he thought fit to communicate unto them all; and, thereupon, his lordship delivered unto the lord chancellor his majesty's letter, brought over by me in August last, containing his majesty's direction and resolution in divers points concerning the parliament, which the lord chancellor did then openly read to the whole assembly, and that being done, his lordship willed them to repair to their several houses to perform the public service. When the commons were assembled in the

lower house, the Speaker, as the manner is, began with prayer, divers recusants being then present in the house, who departed not, but sat still soberly during the time of prayer, and some other recusants who were without, when the prayers began came in and sat down with the rest, and thus they did every day for the first week; but afterwards they withdrew themselves altogether, and came not into the house till our prayers were fully ended.

"It was said at first that the recusants of our house of commons did conceive that they might safely be present at our prayers, being said by the Speaker, who is a layman; but that the lords in the higher house might not so do, because the prayers there are said by a bishop. Howbeit, within few days after, it appeared that that distinction was not allowed by their priests.

"Prayers being ended the first day, the Speaker, in a short speech, did congratulate the reassembling and reuniting of the members of that house; and that being done, he did only read one bill, and so that house rose the first day: and this was the manner of our first meeting.

"2. Touching the course of our proceeding the second day, upon the second reading of the bill, which was read the day before, a motion was made by one of the recusant members, which did a little move and startle the Protestants, for it was to this effect: that the house should forbear to pass any act, or to engross any bill, until the places of such as were dead since the last session might be supplied, and until such as were supposed not to be lawful members of the house, upon examination, might be removed. To this, answer was made on the other side, that this motion was contrary to the course observed, not only in parliaments, but in all chapters and corporations, wherein the major part of those that are present in their common assemblies

do always pass their common acts, without respect to the dead or to the absent; for if nothing shall be done till return be made of others in place of the dead, how long shall this house sit idle without any proceeding at all? There are now two knights and one burgess dead since the last session: for the knights that are dead there can be no new election made of others but at the sheriff's court, which is held but once every month; besides, there must be a time for issuing out of the new writs for the delivery thereof to the sheriff, for the executing and returning of those writs, and for the repair of those new knights out of the country hither. All this while we must sit still, and at last, perhaps, when all places are supplied, some other knights or burgesses may die—our whole number being above 200—and then we must have a new cessation; and so the public service may be delayed *in infinitum*. And touching the supposed unlawful members of the house, all doubts that could be moved were cleared in England, by his majesty's final judgment in that behalf, whereunto we ought all submit ourselves, since we did all appeal unto his majesty's judgment; in obedience of which judgment, divers gentlemen, who sat in the house the last session, do forbear to sit now; the rest, by his majesty's sentence, do hold themselves lawful members, without question. *Divinatio in labiis regis, et os ejus non errabit in judicio.* This is a most direct text, said one of the house, to justify and confirm the king's judgment specially in temporal causes, than any is to be found in all the Scripture to maintain the pope's not erring judgment in spiritual causes.

"This answer gave stay to that motion for that day; but the same being revived again at sundry times after, divers quick and sharp speeches passed on both

side, but yet with such respect to the honor of the house as the gravity and solemnity of that council was not diminished, but both been better preserved in this session than in any former parliament in the memory of man. Howbeit, to remove this stumbling-block out of the house, which gave some impediment to our proceeding, it was moved at last that certain committees should be appointed, according to the manner of the parliament of England, who should examine all undue returns of sheriffs, and other breaches of privileges of that house, and report what they found from time to time; whereupon the house might take such order as should be meet.

"This being condescended unto all parts, and the committees accordingly named and authorized by the house, all protestations against our proceedings ceased, and the public business went on without contradiction.

"Hereunto we passed, first, the act of recognition of his majesty's undoubted title to the crown, &c., which act before had passed the upper house; next, the act against piracy; after that, an act to take away clergy in cases of rape, burglary, robbery, &c.; and now, lastly, we have passed the act of attainder of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and others.

"In the meantime, the committees for returns and privileges had divers meetings, wherein, at first, there was a little dissension, but it was *sine acerbitate dissentio*, touching some exceptions which had been propounded and overruled in England; but in two or three conferences they talked themselves good friends, and came to a perfect atonement; so as they resolved to make report to the house, that they thought fit that all these questions should utterly cease during this session of parliament; which report being made accordingly, was forthwith approved and entered as an order of the

house, and thereupon there did appear a manifest alteration in every man's countenance; for whereas before we looked sadly and strangely one upon the other, we might perceive a serenity and clearness in every one's aspect, which argued that all parties were well pleased and contented. After this the Speaker, at several times, invited the principal gentlemen and merchants of the recusant party to his house, and gave them the best entertainment he could, and they accepted his entertainment cheerfully and friendly; so as now our disjointed body is pieced and joined so well together, as that the public service doth proceed without impediment; and if we could meet as willingly, and agree as well in a church as we do in the parliament house, the peace of Ireland were established for ever. Thus far, and in this manner, have we proceeded in this session of parliament.

"To conclude, though we should proceed no farther, the service that is already performed is of that importance, as greater hath not been effected in any parliament of Ireland these hundred years. For, first, the new erected boroughs have taken place, which will be perpetual seminaries of parliament burgesses; for that it is provided in the charters, that the provost and twelve burgesses, who are to elect all the rest, must always be such as will take the oath of supremacy.

"Next, all the states of the kingdom have attainted Tyrone, the most notorious and dangerous traitor that ever was in Ireland, whereof foreign nations will take notice, because it hath been given out, by some fugitives of this nation, that Tyrone had left many friends behind him, and that the Protestants only did wish his utter ruin. Besides, this attainder doth secure and settle the plantation of Ulster, and doth perfect his majesty's work therein, being the most excellent work for the good

of this kingdom that any service performed since the conquest. Lastly, we have passed laws to root out felons upon the land, and to punish pirates upon the sea. I speak not of the act of recognition, for that it addeth nothing to his majesty's undoubted right; yet such a universal acknowledgment of this nature, all circumstances considered, is well obtained at this time; and now, if we had the bill of subsidy here, I hope we should conclude with that oblation to his majesty, and then we should have cause to thank the divine Majesty for this peaceable and profitable session of parliament.

"Your lordship's to do you all humble
and faithful service,

"JOHN DAVYS.

"Dublin, 31st October, 1614."

The last act of this parliament was to grant a large subsidy in money to the king, in return for which his majesty assured them that he now would hold his Irish subjects in equal favor with those of England; and by way of proving this, he soon afterwards ordered a proclamation to be published, commanding all priests, bishops, &c., "who sustained the party of the ill-affected at home, and set forth others to bring back Tyrone with forces to begin a rebellion," to quit Ireland, or stay there at their imminent peril.

But there were two episodes connected with this parliament which are worth recording, the first especially, as it proves that sir John Everard, although a miserable parasite—or, to use a more homely term, tuft-hunter—was not ungrateful to John Bath, who, as *detector*, rendered such signal services to the crown. In fact, he exerted himself strenuously in behalf of the uncle of this

meritorious individual, and procured from the parliament an act of State, securing to him the town and lands of Balgriffin,* which were conveyed long before, by *mesne conveyance*, to John's father. Bath, we may presume, was thankful to the loyal knight, and more so to his own nephew, who is entitled to a niche among those who earn renown by betraying their friends for a consideration.

The second incident, which partakes of the ridiculous, relates to one of the spiritual peers who had a hand in confiscating the domains of the fugitive earls—namely, Miler Magrath, by grace of queen Elizabeth, archbishop of Cashel, on the legitimacy of whose son, James, one Gerald Nugent, not having fear of the episcopal bench before his eyes, cast a libellous aspersion, which, because of its truth, was the more defamatory. Flesh and blood could not bear such indignity, and Miler deemed it his duty, for the many weighty reasons he himself assigns, to present the following memorial :—

"*To the knights and burgesses of his majesty's most honorable house of parliament.*

"Showing unto your wisdoms,—That whereas one *Gerald Nugent*, esq., and one of this honorable house, did, within these few days last past, at St. Sepulchre's, in the house of the right honorable the lord chancellor, and in the presence and hearing of his lordship, and of many others, gentlemen of great quality and condition, utter and speak to one of your petitioner's sons, named *James*, these words following, viz., *that he was 'a base priest's chit, and a scald priest's son,'* which words he repeated very often, without any respect to your suppli-

* In 1545, Con, earl of Tyrone, had a grant of Balgriffin, with remainder to the baron of Dungannon in tail male.

ant's person and calling. Now, for that the said injury doth not only extend to the petitioner alone, but it is a very great wrong and contempt of all the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the kingdom, whose function and calling all his majesty's loving and loyal subjects *ought* to have in due reverence and respect, as well in regard of their duties to Almighty God, whose ambassadors on earth they are,* as likewise in respect of his majesty, the estate, and the laws and statutes established in this kingdom, the breach and contempt whereof in so high a point, touching all the clergy of the kingdom, cannot but, in some degree, reach his majesty, to whose godly and zealous care to maintain God's church, and the ministers thereof, in their due respect, is well known to the most of this honorable house. And for that the privilege of the said Mr. *Nugent*, being a parliament man, doth now extend to free him from censures of this honorable house, the petitioner doth, therefore, appeal to your wisdoms for justice in so high a wrong, most humbly beseeching that heavy punishment may be inflicted on the said offender, according to his demerit, whereby all his highness' subjects may take notice, by his example, how far he hath offended."

Mr. Nugent, as might be expected, was summoned to the bar of the house to answer the archbishop's complaint, when it would appear that instead of apologising to his Grace, Miler, he only embroiled himself more by a quibble, known to logicians as a distinction without a difference. The edifying affair

* There is a volume of fun in the archbishop's estimate of himself and colleagues, and he, doubtless, must have held his sides after penning it. Miler Magrath, an ambassador of the Almighty, with credentials obtained through queen Elizabeth! What a true portraiture of himself might he not have found in Erasmus' sally—"Ens vagabundum, errans per mundum, omnia rapiens et nihil dans!"

is recorded in the journal of the Irish house of commons thus :

"Mr. *Nugent* thereupon alleged for himself that he spake not those words, but that he said *he was a paltry friar's son.*

"And Mr. Speaker informed the house, that the lord chancellor gave him notice, how that a member of this house carried a challenge from the said *James Magrath* to the said Mr. *Gerald Nugent.*

"Mr. *Edmond Nugent.*—To see the malice of this man, that was not content to send him a challenge, but to prefer a malicious petition against him.

"Sir *Robert Digby.*—Not only these things, but to scandalize the archbishop ; therefore that Mr. *Edmond Nugent* should to the bar.

Mr. *Bryan M'Donough.*—The member of this house confessed the carriage of the letter, but vowed that he knew not that it contained a challenge.

"Hereupon Mr. Gerald Nugent, the party challenged to speak the words in the petition, fell down into a trance, his senses being for a season taken away, being troubled with falling sickness.

"It was alleged in Mr. *Gerald Nugent's* defence, that the sueing *James Magrath* for some moneys delivered by the wife of the said *Nugent*, very unworthily told him, that his wife gave it him for a lewd purpose, alleged to be done between the gentleman's wife and *Magrath*, which caused the said Mr. *Nugent* to say *he was a paltry friar's son.*

"Mr. *Edmond Nugent*, upon his oath, which he offered to take, explained himself that he knew not that the lord archbishop's name was used in the petition, but his son's only, which explanation was held sufficient.

"But it was ordered that the sergeant-at-arms should presently go for Mr. *Magrath*.

"And the words of Mr. *Gerald Nugent*, mentioned in the petition, were by him denied; but considering that others as bad were by him spoken in the house, it was thought fit he should be censured.

"But lest that, by censuring him, he being now come to his senses again, might fall into the same sickness, whereby his life might be endangered, it is thought good by the house to forbear censuring him."

CHAPTER XII.

WERE we to believe sir John Davys, it would appear that this parliament, which dissolved October, 1615, so tranquillized the minds of the Irish, that they no longer entertained either hope or dread of Tyrone's return. This, however, was far from being the case ; for, during the sessions of 1614, Chichester was fully persuaded that the adherents of the fugitives were preparing to land either in Waterford, Galway, or in some of the northern ports. Indeed, none knew better than the deputy that the confiscation of the wide domains of the Ulster nobles, would necessarily exasperate Tyrone, and convince him that he had now no alternative, if he did not prefer dying in exile, but to cut the act of attainder to pieces, with the sword he had often wielded so successfully on Irish ground. That this was O'Neill's resolve there can be no doubt, for he was thoroughly convinced that he had not the faintest hope of pardon or redintegration from the king. But before we relate the circumstances which combined to thwart his plans, we may observe, that Irish history, chequered as it is, has no episode more humiliating than that which exhibits six entire counties passively submitting to the rapacity of an insignificant number of individuals, who might have been crushed by a moderate amount of energetic resistance. It must be admitted, however, that there was no organized effort on the

part of the natives to hold their own, ever since they lost the few leaders whose superior judgment enabled them from time to time to achieve a transitory triumph. The Catholics of the pale had no sympathy with their coreligionists in the north, and did nothing but petition for mitigation of the laws enacted against their common faith; and as for the latter, they seemed to have lost the spirit of self-reliance, and all appreciation of the resources they had within themselves, if they only knew how to employ them. These traits, so peculiar to the Celtic character, have been justly stigmatized by a friendly and observant Italian,* who, some thirty years after the period of which we are writing, tells us that the native Irish were behind the rest of Europe in the knowledge of those things that tended to their material improvement—indifferent agriculturists—living from hand to mouth—caring more for the sword than the plough—excellent Catholics, albeit rude—and placing their hopes of deliverance from English rule on foreign intervention. For this they were constantly straining their eyes towards France or Spain; and no matter whence the ally came, were ever ready to rise in revolt. One virtue, however—intensest love of country—more or less redeemed these vices, for so they deserve to be called; but to establish anything like strict military discipline or organization among themselves, it must be avowed they had no aptitude. This, to some extent will account for the apathy of the northern Catholics, while the Undertakers were carrying on the gigan-

* The nuncio Rinuccini, who says: "Questa nazione forse piu d'ogn' altra d'Europa e' negligentissima per natura a qualsivoglia industria per migliorare le cose, ma si contenta di quel solo che la natura va dettando . . . gli Ultoniesi, per natura asai *barbari* benchè buoni Cattolici. . . . piu gelosi della Spada e moschetto, che dei loro corpi medesimi, bevonno latte, e per gran delizia acquavite."—Nunz. in Irlanda.

tic eviction, known as the plantation of Ulster; for, since sir Cahir O'Dogherty's rebellion, till 1615, there was only one attempt to resist the intruders—an abortive raid on the city of Derry, for which the meagre annals of that year tell us, six of the earl of Tyrone's nearest kinsmen were put to death.* Withal, the people of Ulster were full of hope that O'Neill would return with force to evict the evictors; but the farther they advanced into this agreeable perspective, the more rapidly did its charms disappear.

Recurring to Chichester's apprehensions of such an event, we need only quote a few of his own letters, written while the parliament was sitting in Dublin, to show that he looked on it as all but certain, while, at the same time, he avowed that the means at his disposal were powerless to either repel invasion, or repress those of the natives who were but too well inclined to aid it. His correspondents abroad made him aware of the movements of every priest who was on the way to Ireland; for no matter what the individual's business might be, the deputy believed, or pretended to believe, that each one returning from Rome was an agent sent by O'Neill to prepare the Irish for revolt. To add to his vexation, Dublin itself was frequented by priests in disguise, and worst of all, archbishop M'Mahon, whom he insolently styled "titulary," presumed to take up his abode in the city, where, in spite of the deputy's police, he moved about from house to house, intangible as his own shadow. But as Chichester laid great stress on the incidents at which we have glanced, we will let himself furnish the narrative of his embarrassments, watchfulness, and forebodings:—

* Phillipp's MSS.

"*Lord deputy Chichester to secretary Winwood.*

"In a letter of yours of the 18th of January, you sent me an advertisement made to sir Dudley Carleton, by one Nathaniel Brant, of the purpose of one James Meagh, a priest, to come hither. Those I received the 15th of February. I had notice of that man's practice of coming hither in November last, by letters from Padua, and that a brother of his, named Peyrs or Peter, should come in his company. I laid the ports for them, being sure to light upon Peter, albeit I might miss the priest, and it is so fallen out; for about the beginning of this month he came to Cork, and was examined by sir Dominick Sarsfield, according to my directions, but confesseth no more of his brother but that he was at Bourdeaux with him, and went from thence to Paris, as by the examination, which herewith I send, will appear unto you; but I verily believe that the priest came with him, who is a dangerous fellow, and was employed by the recusants from hence about the beginning of the parliament in May, 1613, as I am credibly informed. We are full of men of this priest's condition, practisers of sedition and insurrections, of which there is not a greater worker than Owen M'Mahon, the titulary archbishop of Dublin, son to Owen M'Cooly M'Mahon, who is still in the kingdom, and often in this city of Dublin, albeit I cannot get him.

"By these gathering of the clouds together, I foresee a storm is threatened; and surely they have some desperate practice in debate amongst them. The hearts of the natives are, for the most part, against us; we are a handful of men in entertainment here, so ill-paid that every one is discontented and out of heart.

"I do my best to discover their plots, and to frustrate

them; but without more help I shall be soon wearied in a tempest, when commands, law, and proclamations are of no use without the sword to make them obeyed. The Irish are hopeful of invasion from foreign parts and return of the fugitives, or of some home insurrection.

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

"Castle of Dublin,
"18th of March, 1614."

"*Lord deputy to secretary Winwood.*

"Honorable sir,—Since the date of my former letters I am advertised that James Meagh, the priest, is landed. He came, I doubt not, in the same ship with his brother. He reports that Tyrone, with other fugitives, are preparing to come with forces into this kingdom, to regain their lost patrimonies, and to gain to those of the Church of Rome the free exercise of their religion. This news is pleasing and welcome to a people so discontented and inconstant; what effects it will produce we may better foresee than prevent. I will do my best to get him, and some others as bad as himself, apprehended; but they are so watchful, and have so many friends, that we shall hardly light upon them. I doubt not but his majesty hath good espial upon those fugitives, and will either prevent their coming, or enable us to encounter them upon their landing. Without such care much will be left to hazard.

"ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

"At Dublin,
"the 21st of March, 1614."

It cannot be doubted that O'Neill did intend returning to Ireland with forces, and Bath's informations are explicit as to the means by which he meant to carry the Irish regiments along with him. A couple dozen Spanish caravels, which could have been so easily chartered, would have sufficed for the purpose, and Bath himself, according to the earl's arrangement, was to pilot them to some Irish haven, where they were sure to be joined by the "disaffected." Turnbull was fully aware of this, and so much was he alarmed by the project, that he wrote to the king impressing on him the necessity of making provision for Bath, and detaching him altogether from O'Neill. "Finding now," says he, "that Tyrone is in hope of a breach between his majesty and Spain, doth begin to bristle and set up new hopes of a rebellion in Ireland, I will, once more, in all humility, desire your lordship's permission to put your lordship in mind how requisite it may be for his majesty's service to recall this person, being the only mariner among the Irish living here, and to give him some competent means of living in Ireland, necessity being subject to no law, and his wants being such as I fear may compel him to undertake some desperate course."* The allusion to the probability of a breach between the court of Spain and the king of England, leaves no doubt that Philip III. was well disposed to aid Tyrone's project once it was launched; for, devout Catholic as he was, and special benefactor of Irish ecclesiastics,† he must have felt

* This letter is dated January, 1614.

† He founded the Irish college of Salamanca in 1610, as appears by the inscription above its entrance-door: "This college was erected by the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, for maintaining the Christian religion in Ireland, in the year that Philip III. expelled the Moriscoes." The late archbishop of Dublin was educated there, and its actual rector, the reverend doctor Gartland, is well known for his extensive learning and urbanity to tourists in Spain.

for his coreligionists, then suffering such unmitigated persecution in their unfortunate country. But as all human speculations are liable to be thwarted by merest accidents, so was it with Tyrone's; for, in the first place, there was no interruption of the amicable relations between the crowns of Spain and England; and secondly, the British minister at Brussels was thoroughly acquainted with O'Neill's preparations and designs in Rome. For this valuable information Turnbull was indebted to Lombard, correspondent of a captain Daniel, then in Belgium, who, being "a man of desires," that is, an expectant of favors, did not fail to certify him of every circumstance which he thought might tend to defeat either the invasion of Ireland or rebellion there. We may also premise that Lombard admits that suspicion had already fallen upon him, and that, notwithstanding his pilgrimage to Loretto, the inhabitants of the Salviati Palace entertained doubts of his honesty—another illustration of the proverb which says that sanctification does not always attend long travel.

"*Robert Lombard to captain Daniel.*

"Loving cousin,—I have received yours of this 8th, and the last week's most courteous and gracious letters, together with the order in them mentioned, all which God pay you, for in me, as there is no merit, so consequently can be no possibility of able forces for to satisfy the least part of so many benefices. The last week I have left to write for the suspicions and vigilances of this house and people, in which interim I learned of cardinal Cappone's grounds for the advice given here, which is the self you know; and besides told me that in Livorno [Leghorn] and Venice, and consequently he

said Genoa, as all other seaports, were sails and people waiting to take the earl of Tyrone and convey him for England, in case he took that way. The old man every night hereupon sleeps with his sword naked by his bedside, and believes that he and his doubt not to have a day yet at home: howsoever, there are lets and obstacles many in the way. The earl of Tyrone was to progress at Caprarola, a very pleasant place of cardinal Farnese's, where, through the means and instance of the Spanish ambassador, great preparations were to be made for him, both of sports and cheer, for to drive away the melancholy which occupies him through his staying here this summer; but the weather is so rainy and tempestuous, as none can put out his head, and so dures here all these six weeks. Herewith I betake you from Rome, this 11th May, 1614.

"Your loving cousin,

"Robert Lombard."

Another of this man's letters, written in the same month, and addressed to Daniel, would incline us to believe that Lombard was as conversant with the affairs of the college of cardinals as he was with O'Neill's projects. This, however, may not have been the case, and the probability is that he pretended such intimacy for the purpose of exalting himself in the estimation of Turnbull. Apart from the ecclesiastical intelligence it contains, it is valuable as showing that Tyrone had a friend in the person of a Roman patrician, who was ready to invest his fortune on the Irish venture, which promised, along with other returns, the "bubble reputation." Any document coming from a man who had already so degraded himself by his conduct in Venice, must naturally be received with suspicion; and we may

therefore conclude that the archbishop's lecture to Wall was invented by his over-fertile brain, in order to convince Turnbull that he was a loyal subject. Nothing is more unlikely than that the archbishop ever gave utterance to the sentiments which Robert attributes to him ; for it is impossible to conceive that he would not have been glad to assist O'Neill in regaining his own, and vindicating for the Irish Catholics the untrammelled exercise of their religion :—

"*Robert Lombard to captain Daniel.*

"Loving cousin,—True it is that I have forgotten, and more than once, to enclose in mine a certain writing sent me from the secretary of the Inquisition, concerning D. Woodinton's promotion, the which, in fine, as my disgrace would have it, is lost, and I can find the same nowhere. I remember that therein were these words: *Quale delli tre archivescovati Castellen. Dublinen. et Tuamen, sia piu vicino Inghilterra?* whereby, as other circumstances, I well perceived our Jesuitical machine. Tyrone would in no sort that Englishmen should have entrance in title or other that concerneth Ireland, and much less that the college [of cardinals] should put itself or be heard therein, knowing that, of howsoever so little occasion or beginning, the Jesuits would make reason thereof for them ever hereafter to enter into full possession and right of the matters and whole government of that kingdom, and the same *suis humeris tanquam Tantalo cœlum initi debere.*

"Besides, also, you shall understand that Tyrone is a dependent of Franciscan friars, and governeth by them

here, in Spain, and Flanders, never yet having meddling with Jesuits, nor giving them any access nor entrance into his secrets, being much solicitated by them everywhere, and chiefly in this city, by father Parsons,* upon his first arrival, who could prevail nothing; for which I believe that satisfaction is not for him, and therefore against, as I know by divers of themselves.

"I am deceived or I told you by mouth of one Marcio, and his speech unto a Jesuit of our nation now in Flanders, named Henry Fitzsimons, to wit: this Jesuit, discussing with the aforesaid Marcio of the facility to conquer Ireland, and the commodity therein to extend fame and fortunes, this nobleman, moved with such interest, gave to understand unto the said Jesuit that he most willingly would engage himself and his fortunes for the like enterprise, so that he could have the concurrence of some in the country, or see possibility for him to prevail by any other means. This was no sooner with the Jesuit than he gave part thereof unto Tyrone, and with another of his habit now in Ireland, called father Wall, came to treat with my lord primate thereof, with whom, when they could not prevail, they cast against him as reproach that he was a friend of the king of England, and affected him too much; to which the holy man replied: 'I am affected to my prince; my duty and obligation is no less, and commandment of God will have it so. And for you religious people it should better become you to attend to serve God in your country, with your vocation and function, than put yourselves in matters of state and conquest of countries opposite unto your profession, knowing that under

* Author of "Leicester's Commonwealth," and a treatise called "A Conference about the Right Succession to the Crown of England," "The Three Conversions of England," &c. He died rector of the English college at Rome, 1610.

many ethnic emperors have lived great saints and servants of God, who, notwithstanding all persecutions suffered, still conserved their duty and allegiance unto their prince, *secundum redde Cæsari quod Cæsaris est et quod Dei Deo.*' This Marcio was visited by Tyrone, and Tyrconnel by him, but I believe that nothing was done to any purpose betwixt them, for I should, I believe, hear thereof *se ciò fosse.* This Marcio is of 12,000 crowns rent, and hath been a soldier in Hungary, and luogotenente-generale in all the pope's states, which now principe Savelli hath. Other I have not to say of him, but that he is the prince of Parma's kinsman, and very great with him. Tyrone hath not been in villa. And so I rest, whose hand you know, at Rome, this last of May, 1614."

It would appear, however, that Robert's artful practices were discovered, and that he found it prudent to quit Rome for some other part of Italy. The real cause of his separation from the archbishop of Armagh has not transpired, but it is likely that the venerable prelate heard how he had slandered the countess of Tyrone to Carleton, and in consequence determined to get rid of him. The archbishop's estimate of the last consort of O'Neill has been given in the opening pages of this volume, and we may not doubt that he would shrink from all contact with one who had presumed to defame her. The extract from Robert's last letter is redolent of loyalty to king James, and such as he thought would commend him still more to the notice of Turnbull, with whom captain Daniel was in constant communication :—

"Loving cousin,—I have written unto you by the two last . . . . . of the occurrences here as in Rome,

where great ill language is spoken of our king, who, they give out, intended nothing by the drawing of our country noblemen to England than to imprison them there till such time as he, with the weaker at home, and them also, could effectuate his will in matter of religion, in which, if he find difficulty, he shall not leave to make a massacre and slaughter of the whole country. Tyrone has no particularity of their imprisonment, nor cause thereof, nor yet their names, yet leaves not with that little flying report of their imprisonment to give the whole, or rather forge the same, as his ministers about him think fit for that purpose, and fill all men's ears therewith."

This intelligence, which Trumbull transmitted to England, greatly alarmed the king, so much so that he commanded the lord deputy to repair to London, in order that he might have the benefit of his advice as to the best means of defeating O'Neill's project. Chichester accordingly presented himself at court, where James gave him cordial greeting, and expressed his royal approval of the precautions he had taken to meet an emergency which they both regarded as inevitable. Having conferred with the privy council on the same subject, and agreed upon the line of conduct which they deemed best to pursue, Chichester set out for Ireland in July, 1614, after having been again appointed lord deputy.* Towards the close of same month he landed at the Head of Howth, and rode to Dublin with great pomp, the lord of Howth carrying before him the sword of state, till he reached his own house in Hoggin-green.† Once more head of the executive, he relentlessly persecuted the

* In this year, Lodge says, the Harp was first marshalled with the arms of England, and impressed on British coin.

† For a graphic account of Chichester House, see Gilbert's Dublin.

"recusants," imprisoning such as refused to frequent the Protestant churches, and levying fines off those who were able to pay them for non-attendance. A statute of 2nd Elizabeth directed that said moneys should be distributed to the indigent; but Chichester refused to comply with it, alleging that "the poor of the parishes were not fit to receive the same, being Catholics, and therefore bound to pay the like penalty." Indeed, the harsh measures which this deputy enforced against the "Papists" after his reappointment, were of the most atrocious character, and such as would have justified the Catholics, if they had the means to do so, in overthrowing an administration which contemplated nothing short of their utter ruin. Trial by jury had become a mere mockery, for Chichester dragged before the star-chamber all those who refused to find for the crown; while the court of Wards laid hold of minors, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Catholic nobility, sent them to be brought up in Trinity College, "in English habits and religion;" which the deputy declared to be anything but a grievance. According to this ferocious bigot, no Irishman had a right to live on Irish soil till he took the oath of supremacy, refusing which, says he, "they are intruders upon the king's possession, for which intrusion they are justly sued in the Exchequer, and the damage they suffer is by their own wilful default and contempt of the law."*

At length, in November, 1615, the king was pleased to disburden Chichester of the deputyship, allowing him to retire to his estates in the north of Ireland, or, if it pleased him better, to fix his abode in England. He embraced the former alternative, and took up his residence at Carrickfergus, where he devoted much of his

* Desid. Curios. Hib. v. i. p. 263.

time to erecting a magnificent mansion, which he called Joymount—a very antithetical designation, since every storey of it, from the foundation to the coping-stone, was built out of the wreck of honest men's fortunes. The entire career of this man was an uninterrupted outrage upon honor and justice; but he was a "favorite," and James thought no dignity or amount of wealth too much for him.

In February, 1609, the king granted to him and his heirs male, for ever, the entire territory of Inishowen, otherwise called O'Dogherty's country; and two years afterwards he had an additional grant of the castle of Dungannon, with 1,320 acres of escheated lands within that precinct, and other hereditaments of great value. And in order to grace the gifts which his majesty had no right to bestow, the king, by letters-patent, dated Westminster, 23rd February, 1612, created him baron Chichester of Belfast, entailing the honor on his issue male; thus proving that titles are in many instances decorations of the worthless. The honors, however, did not devolve on his issue male, for his only son died in 1606.* As for Chichester himself, it was decreed that he should survive the object of his dread and hatred many years; for he did not die till 1625, when his remains were taken from London, and buried beside those of his infant son and wife, in St. Nicholas', Carrickfergus. A richly-sculptured monument marks his resting-place there; but his epitaph, like the generality of such compositions, is a blending of truth and lies, for it sets forth that he "well and happily governed the kingdom in flourishing estate after the flight of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and the suppression of O'Dogherty and other

* In 1614, the deputy erected a costly alabaster monument in Christ Church, Dublin, to the memory of his child, but there is now no vestige of it.

northern rebels." The beauty of the marble would be far more charming if it could only blush!

After Chichester's retirement, the government of Ireland was confided to Jones, Protestant archbishop of Dublin, and sir John Denham, chief justice of the king's bench, who were empowered to act as lords-justices till it pleased his majesty to appoint a deputy. We need hardly say that the personages who now held the destinies of the Irish Catholics in their hands, were in every respect as vigilant and exacting as their predecessor. Both enforced the laws against recusants with unqualified severity, and surrounded themselves with a large staff of officials, whose interest it was to swell the amount of fines levied off Papists for not attending the church-services on Sundays and holidays. The actual sum, by payment of which a Catholic might compound with the lords-justices for refusing to save his soul according to the new religion, was twelve pence, but it usually amounted to ten shillings when the clerks and collectors were paid their fees.* The malversation of the moneys thus gathered, was flagrantly continued by the lords-justices; for, like Chichester, they regarded all Papists as intruders on the king's possession. Jones, moreover, had very earthly views, for he deemed it his duty to be the founder of a family, for whose sublunary happiness it was necessary to provide an ample estate. The revenues of the see of Dublin being thought insufficient for this, the king empowered him to hold *in commendam* the prebend of Castleknock, which, with the salary of chancellor, archbishop, and lord-justice, enabled him to leave his son, who was afterwards created viscount Ranelagh and baron of Navan, a fair fortune.

* See Haverty's History of Ireland, the best work of its class that has ever appeared.

The state papers of this period prove that the archbishop and his colleague were very apprehensive of O'Neill's return, and that they exercised unrivalled watchfulness in "laying the ports" and arresting suspects who came from abroad, As for Tyrone, Jones was personally acquainted with him; and apart from his detestation of such an "excommunicated traitor," he preserved certain recollections of the earl, which were far from agreeable, and nowise impaired by an interval of more than a quarter of a century. We have already made passing allusion to this episode; but as it is one of more than ordinary interest, with a dash of the romantic, we reproduce it here for the reader's gratification.

In the year 1591, Mabel Bagnal, sister to the marshal of that name, was summering with her sister, wife of sir Patrick Barnwall, in the ancient manor house of Turvey, where the earl of Tyrone, then a widower, won her heart. Having mutually pledged their troth, the earl presented his affianced with a gold chain—symbol of the bond which death alone could sever—and agreed to meet her on a future day, at the residence of sir William Warren, to be united in wedlock. Faithful to her word, Mabel rode, one August evening, from Turvey to Warren's house, where she was soon afterwards joined by the earl, who followed her thither with a gallant train of cavaliers, English and Irish, desirous to witness the wedding. The earl having no chaplain with him, and wishing to be "handfasted" according to her majesty's laws, despatched one of his gentlemen to Jones, then bishop of Meath, with earnest suit that he would lose no time in coming to Warren's, where he was required on business of great urgency. Jones complied, and seeing how matters stood, he married the lovers, to the great contentment of the bystanders, but most of

all to that of Mabel, whom he then and there declared countess of Tyrone. News of this remarkable occurrence reached Dublin very soon, and exasperated the countess' brother, who, being at feud with Tyrone, gave out that his real wife was still living, and that bishop Jones had committed a heinous offence against God and man by solemnizing the nuptials of a bigamist. In his view of the matter, the bishop had disgraced himself and his lawn, and deserved to be unfrocked. Swayed by this conviction, he sent a letter to lord Burghley detailing all the circumstances, and beseeching him to lay the whole matter before the queen. Burghley did so, and her majesty commanded him to write to the bishop, requiring the latter to lose no time in accounting for his very scandalous behavior, in wedding a lady of English blood and education to an Irish chieftain, who, if she had been rightly informed, was more like an infidel Turk than a Christian gentleman. This, indeed, was an awful predicament for Jones, who, feeling himself placed, as it were, between the anvil and the sledge-hammer, despatched the subjoined deprecatory letter to the lord high treasurer :—

"*The bishop of Meath to lord Burghley.*

"It may please your good lordship, I have received advertisement, that by the information of Mr. marshal, the late marriage of the earl of Tyrone with his youngest sister, is brought into question before your honorable lordship, and that, amongst others, myself is charged with several points in that action, that I was a worker and procurer of the match, and the celebrator of that marriage. And because I understand that the matter itself is diversly censured, being very desirous that my doings in this, and all other actions, may be allowed of in your lordship's grave judgment, I have presumed to present

unto your lordship a short report, both of my knowledge and dealings in this cause.

"And first, my good lord, where I am charged to have been a solicitor and compasser of this match, I protest unto your lordship, in the presence of God, and upon my credit, I never dealt directly or indirectly by any means therein; I was never conferred with, my advice was never demanded, neither was I acquainted with this purpose, either by the earl, or any of his dependents. Only this, my good lord, I heard by reports from others which knew, how things proceeded from time to time; that as the earl was wholly possessed with the love of the gentlewoman, so he had left no honest or ordinary good means untried to procure the liking and consent of the marshal and other her nearest friends. Upon what cause of dislike they still rejected his most earnest suit and solicitation, I never heard, neither as yet do learn. If the bar of a former marriage, which is now so mightily urged, had been then in due season alleged, it would thoroughly have discouraged the earl in his attempt, and easily have diverted the gentlewoman's humor to some other love. But, my good lord, as then this allegation was mute, and not once spoken of for ought that I did ever hear or know, so do I, upon my poor credit, avouch unto your lordship, and do herein call God to witness, that never before, during the life of the earl's late wife, which was O'Donel's daughter, nor since, until of late, since this last marriage of the earl's, I did hear or know, either by secret speech or open report, that he was formerly married to any other. And therefore hath Mr. marshal done me very great wrong to charge me with the knowledge hereof; had I but an inkling of any such matter, I would not, for Mr. marshal's yearly revenue, have done that I did, which, what it was, and in what sort I have done it, I most humbly crave

your lordship's pardon to license me to make known unto you.

"Being at Dublin on the 3rd of August past, attending upon the lord deputy for some occasions of her majesty's service, one of the earl's servants came unto me, and told me that his lord and master did most earnestly desire me to come presently unto him to Drumcondra, within a mile of Dublin. I, little knowing, God is my witness, either what was done, or to be done, granted to go, and deeming the matter to be weighty by reason of the earnest message, went presently to the place, where at my coming I found his lordship and the gentlewoman in a chamber, accompanied with ten English gentlemen of good sort. The earl, after some courteous salutations, entertained me in this manner. My lord, I have made bold to send for you hither at this time, to entreat you to take the pains to marry together myself and this gentlewoman, to whom, said the earl, I was betrothed about twenty days since, and now, by her own consent, I have brought her hither, and both her desire and mine is, that, for both our credits, you will now marry us; and for my part, said the earl, I am desirous that rather you than any other should perform this office between us, that the world may know that we are married together according to her majesty's laws. I answered the earl, that the matter which he required me to do was of great importance, and therefore I desired him to pardon me until I first conferred with the gentlewoman herself; and taking her aside from the company, I privately dealt with her, and, by way of examination, demanded of her whether she had, before that time, plighted her troth, and given her promise to the earl to marry him. She answered me that she had made promise to the earl, and had betrothed herself to him about three weeks before that time;

and further she told me, that upon that promise she received from the earl a token worth a hundred pounds, which since I have learned was a chain of gold. Secondly, I demanded of her whether the manner of her coming away from sir Patrick Barnwell's house was a thing done and agreed upon with her own consent. She told me that she had given her free consent thereunto, and accordingly was come away with the earl, adding this, that unless she had agreed to that device and manner of her escape, as she termed it, it had been never attempted. I demanded of her one question more, viz.: whether she were now resolved to take the earl to her husband and to be married unto him? The gentlewoman answered me on this matter: My lord, you see in what case I am, how I am come hither with my own consent, and have already promised my lord the earl to be his wife; I beseech your lordship therefore, for my credit's sake, to perfect the marriage between us, the sooner the better for my credit's sake.

"Whereupon seeing the young gentlewoman in that place where she was neither mistress of herself nor of her affections, and knowing that all ordinary means had been urged and wrought to procure her friend's consent, I resolved, chiefly in regard of the danger wherein the gentlewoman's credit and chastity stood, to perfect that knot which themselves before had knitted, and did accordingly, at the same place, being at an honest English gentleman's house, celebrate that marriage, whether well or evil, whether justly or unadvisedly, I leave it to your lordship's most grave and discreet censure.

"Thus have I plainly and truly made known to your lordship the matter and manner of my dealings in this action, wherein as I do wholly submit myself to your lordship's wise consideration, so do I most humbly be-

seech the same, not further than this, to give credit to any suggestions against me. Once again protesting to your good lordship that whatsoever I have written doth contain a truth, and so with remembrance of my bounden duty and service, I commend your good lordship with my prayers to God's best blessings.

"Your good lordship's humbly at command,

"THOMAS MIDENSIS.

"From Dublin,
"this 22nd of October, 1591."

It is hardly necessary to state that the marshal's allegation was false, for O'Neill, far from being a bigamist, had obtained a divorce, duly sanctioned and registered in the church of Armagh, which he exhibited in his own defence, and also to clear the bishop of complicity in a transaction that would have been discreditable to all parties concerned. The earl's endeavors to conciliate the marshal, and the disquietude of the countess, are best told in the following passage of a letter which he addressed to lord Burghley :—

"It is known to your lordship that I have taken to wife sir Henry Bagnall's sister, which I did chiefly to bring civility into my house, and among the country people, which, I thank God, by her good means, is well begun, both in my house and in the country abroad. I have, since my marriage, sought his friendship by such means, as further I may not, without embasement of myself, which as yet I cannot obtain. I am persuaded his strangeness in this behalf is caused chiefly for that neither her majesty nor the lords there have signified any good liking or allowance thereof. Therefore I humbly pray your lordship to do me the favor to procure

me a letter from their lordships to the lord deputy and council here, signifying their allowance of the match. The marshal is my neighbor, and I desire his friendship, chiefly for furtherance of her majesty's service, which, if we two agree together, will go the better forward in this province. And the gentlewoman, my wife, is wonderful disquieted for want of his good countenance, being the chief of her kindred. This I humbly pray your lordship to work for me, and my servant, this bearer, shall attend your pleasure in this and all the rest."*

Jones' apologetic account of himself may not have satisfied the queen, but it is certain that her majesty's successor thought well of it, since he caused him to be translated to the see of Dublin two years after he ascended the throne of England. Had Elizabeth lived a few more years, Jones might never have attained the archiepiscopal dignity, and he doubtless would have had good reason to lament the day he crossed Warren's threshold to make two lovers happy, and himself, perhaps, the most miserable and disappointed of men. Indeed, it was impossible that he should not have retained disagreeable impressions of his share in O'Neill's marriage; for, although one of those clever people who could turn the most untoward accident to his own advantage, he nevertheless must have often called to mind that he had all but compromised himself with the head of *his* Church—a head, in sooth, capricious as a weathervane. Time and exalted position could not make him forget the incident, and we may therefore presume that the dread of O'Neill coming back to Ireland to overthrow the government, and "set up the pope," must

* This letter is dated a year after O'Neill's marriage.

have sorely disquieted him by day, nay, and scared slumber from his pillow, with which some imaginative people were wont to associate dreams of heaven and visions of angels, whenever his Grace had not drunk Canary or Malmsey of indifferent vintage

But there was little reason why he should have been so alarmed, for the king's agents abroad, and the legion of spies he maintained all over the continent—in Spain and Belgium especially—so watched O'Neill, and anticipated all his plans, that invasion, unless countenanced by the Spanish monarch, was hopelessly impracticable. Nevertheless, there was, it seems, some chance of an infraction of the truce between the United Provinces and Spain. Now, in case it did occur, England, being bound to side with the former, would doubtless have drawn upon herself the large Irish contingent then serving in the Low Countries. That this was the conviction of James' privy council there can be no doubt, for about this period we find Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, writing to sir Dudley Carlton, to let him know "whether the earl of Tyrone intends to come nearer, as is reported, and if a Roman nobleman has engaged his fortune to attend him to Ireland." The archbishop, however, might have made his mind easy on this subject, for even though Marcio expended his wealth in chartering transports, the English government was already aware of the project, and had taken measures to meet it. Withal, it would appear that England had not then a very firm reliance on the good faith of Spain. Indeed Turnbull's despatches show this to have been the case; and as for O'Neill, there is every reason to suppose that he calculated on some such lucky rupture, and that Philip would then have an opportunity of retrieving the disaster of Kinsale, by sending a flotilla to the coast of Ulster, where the native population would rally to the

standard of their attainted chieftain, and drive the new settlers back to England or Scotland—anywhere from off the face of his ancient patrimony. Yielding to these apprehensions, James instructed his minister at the court of the archdukes to redouble his vigilance, and make frequent reports of the movements of the Irish troops in their Highnesses' pay, and, above all, to certify to him the names of the Irish officers on whom the court of Spain bestowed special marks of its consideration. In fact, from the middle of 1614, till the close of the following year, Turnbull's correspondence is wholly devoted to these points, so much so, that the English cabinet had not only intelligence of Tyrone's designs, but ample information concerning all those who were suspected of countenancing them. Nothing could surpass the minister's susceptibility on this subject, for if we were to believe himself, no Catholic functionary visited the court of Brussels without impressing on their Highnesses the expediency, as well as duty, of aiding the banished earl and his coreligionists in Ireland. As evidence of this, we need only cite two of his letters, addressed to the king, about the close of 1614, in one of which he tells his majesty that "M. Maes, the archdukes' ambassador at the holy see, had recently come from Rome, and was then actively negotiating in some business of great importance, in which, it is thought, he is to do somewhat in favor of Tyrone." His second letter was of still greater moment, for in it he assures the king "that M. Maes did, not long since, inform one of his acquaintance that he expected Tyrone would pass this way, and kiss the archduke's hand before he proceeded with his intended return towards Ireland." It is almost superfluous to remark that the king of England dreaded such a contingency as much as O'Neill desired it; for it would not only have

involved the former with Spain, but would have given that power occasion to utilize O'Neill in working out its own political aims. No one had a clearer perception of this than Mr. Turnbull; and, indeed, we must admit that he was a vigilant minister, since he allowed nothing that related to the Irish in Spain, Belgium, or Italy, to escape his observation, which at all times was as penetrating as it was jealous. His despatches would enable us to adduce numerous evidences of the latter characteristic, but it will suffice to state that he complained to his government that Phillip III. had bestowed the cross of St. Jago on O'Neill's son, Henry, and that he deemed it part of his duty to act the marplot, when the young Irish colonel was negotiating a marriage with the daughter of a noble Spaniard attached to the court of the archdukes. As we shall have occasion to revert to this subject, we barely allude to it here in proof of the malevolence of the minister, as well as that of his master, whose feelings he may be supposed to have represented. As for the knighthood of St. Jago, which raised O'Neill's son to the rank of a Spanish grandee, Turnbull regarded it as a deliberate insult to the majesty of England, since, as he himself informs us, "it was meant to attach the recipient, and those of his nation, still more to the crown of Spain." And, indeed, he rightly calculated the result; for it was only reasonable that young O'Neill, and those serving under him, should be devoted liegemen to a monarch whose generous conduct contrasted so strongly with that of their own natural, albeit unjust and heartless sovereign. If Turnbull had not deemed those facts sufficiently important, he would not have communicated them to his cabinet; nor would the cabinet have commended his zeal in forwarding such advertisements, if it did not look upon them as portentous. Hence it was that he spared no pains in striving to discover what

were O'Neill's ultimate intentions, how the court of Madrid felt in his regard, and what amount of support it was likely to give him, should the truce with the Hollanders come to a sudden rupture. Meanwhile, despite this surveillance, and the apparently tranquil relations of England and Spain, O'Neill, although now far advanced in years, thwarted by countless vexations, and eating the salty bread of exile, did not despair of being able to make an effort to regain his own, or, at all events, to close his career in the attempt. His yearnings for the land of his birth were incessant, and the associations of home, where his name was still honored by the native Irish, and feared by the feeble government, were far dearer to him than any which the mighty monuments, under whose shadows he pined, could awaken. The fields of Tyrone were greener than those of Tivoli or Frascati ; and surely Tullaghoge was, to his vision, a holier rath than any of the seven hills, or even Mons Sacer, beyond the Tiber. The Farnesian palace at Caprarola, with its rich frescoes, fountains, and galleries, could not chase away such melancholy as his. Ah, how could it! when he reflected that a heartless churl, whom he often worsted on the battle-field, was then biding beneath his own roof-tree in Dungannon. There yet survived in Ulster thousands who witnessed his inauguration, shared his triumph at the Yellow Ford, and on other fields of renown—they, doubtless, would hail his return ; and as for those regiments of Irish which had learned the art of war in Flanders and Sweden, they would make small account of the miserable force at the disposal of Jones and Denham, if he could only land them at the mouth of the Foyle. Still animated by that high military genius, which so often enabled him to baffle Elizabeth's best generals, O'Neill set little value on any opposition he

might have to encounter; and it doubtless must have often occurred to him, that the prestige of his name, and the distinguished treatment he had experienced from Paul V., would bring to his banner even the Catholics of the pale, exasperated as they must have been by penal enactments against their creed, and the unconstitutional proceedings of the Star Chamber. These thoughts and hopes sustained the grand old chieftain from the first to the latest moment of his exile, and it was only natural that he should give expression to them, when, surrounded by his associates in misfortune, the Montepulciano, that "king of wines,"* was gladdening his aged heart.

Now whether it was that O'Neill had got promise of countenance from the king of Spain secretly, or had been supplied with moneys by the patrician Marcio, he made up his mind to quit Rome at the commencement of January, 1615, with the intention of embarking in some port of the Low Countries for Ireland. Like all his other projects, however, this was speedily communicated to Turnbull, who lost no time in making it known to the English cabinet, which, doubtless must have been alarmed on learning that a Belgian nobleman was aiding O'Neill's enterprise. "Letters," says the minister, "have passed between the duke of Newburg and Tyrone, and the Spanish and archdukes' ambassadors in England, advising their friends to deal with Newburg for the moving of the pope and king of Spain to send Tyrone, and other certain men of his nation, with some succors into Ireland, for the raising of a war there, and the diverting of his majesty from assisting the marquis of Brandenbourg

* "Give ear and give faith to our edict divine,
Montepulciano's the king of all wine."
—*Leigh Hunt's translation of Redi's Ode.*

and princes of this union. Tyrone, as the Irish give out, is shortly to remove from Rome, and should have come into these parts; but now it is thought he shall rather go into Spain, because he cannot pass from hence into Ireland with any number of men or shipping, but that he shall be discovered, and in danger to be beaten on the seas by his majesty's navy; whereas from Spain he may go at his pleasure, having the wide ocean to favor his passage." But this intelligence was not authentic, for O'Neill neither went to Spain nor received succors from the Belgian duke, although we may presume that the latter was well disposed to assist him, if for no other reason than to thwart king James, whose sympathies were with the Dutch provinces. At all events, be the cause what it might, O'Neill did not remove from Rome, as he intended; for, two months after the date of the letter we have just quoted, the Belgian agent sent another despatch to the king, informing him "that O'Neill hath sent from Rome two of his instruments into Ireland, called Crone and Conor, with order to stir up factions and seditions in that kingdom, where, in Waterford alone, there are no less than thirty-six Jesuits." Little reason, indeed, had the agent to expect danger from the latter, for he ought to have known that they were at all times the staunchest friends of monarchical government. On receipt, however, of the foregoing despatch, Turnbull was instructed to wait on the archduke, and solicit him to stay Tyrone's passports, if he really meant to pass through Belgium on his way to Ireland. The agent's account of his negotiation runs thus: "I told him [the archduke] that Mr. Edmonds had obtained a stay of the passports which Tyrone had required of the French king, and I prayed him, seeing the said Tyrone was a traitor and a fugitive, and so declared by the proclamation, not to receive him into his domi-

nions, because it would breed jealousy between the king my master and his Highness: whereupon he promised to take such order as should be correspondent to the amity between this state and the crown of Great Britain." Nevertheless, it would appear that the archduke did not mean to stay the passports; for, two months afterwards, Turnbull writes: "It is a decided intention of Tyrone to remove from Rome, even having remitted three months' pay of his entertainment, to serve at his arrival in Brussels." This, indeed, was quite enough to bewilder the vigilant minister; but we can easily imagine how greatly he must have been perplexed by Tyrone's promised approach, when he despatched the following advertisement, under date July 22, 1615:—"Doctor Chamberlaine,* the Franciscan friar of the Irish monastery at Louvain, is newly returned from Rome, and bringeth an order from Tyrone to have some of his countrymen employed at sea in ships-of-war, as pirates, with commission to take all vessels that come in their way, until they be increased to the number of twenty sail, or thereabouts, and then to make their descent on some convenient part of Ireland, not only to find malcontents eno' of that realm to join with them, but to be assisted with forces from the king of Spain." This, surely was a startling project, and O'Neill might have realized it with or without the aid of the king of Spain. Nothing, in fact, was more feasible. The English navy was not then sufficiently numerous to protect the Irish shores against an inroad of that sort, which, doubtless, would have been welcomed by the native population. At all events, the dread of it disquieted king James'

* A native of Ulster, and lecturer at St. Antony's, Louvain. "He wrote," says Ware, "a treatise, *De Scientia Dei*, and another, *De Futuris Contingentibus*," which are now, probably, in the Burgundian Library, Brussels.

privy council, and gave ample employment to Mr. Turnbull, from whose numerous despatches we select the following, in order that the reader may see what stress he laid upon a contingency of such moment :—

"*William Turnbull to the king.*

"Dr. Chamberlaine, the Irish friar at Louvain, is already despatched from hence towards Tyrone, with an errand of great secrecy. He told one of his confidants, the day before his departure, that Tyrone was either removed by this time from Rome, or else would shortly go from thence with intention to transport himself into Spain or these countries. And within these two days all the Irish pensioners and reformados abiding here were summoned to appear before the officers of the Spanish army, to be mustered, and, as they give it out, restored to their former entertainments, being promised, besides, to have 1,000 crowns monthly distributed among them over and above their ordinary pays, for the retaining of them still at the devotion of the Spaniard. Mons. Maes, ambassador for these provinces with the pope, shall forthwith be sent back to his charge at Rome, of purpose to assist there, among other commissioners of like nature, for the setting forward of the troubles already begun in Germany, and the diverting of your majesty from giving assistance to your allies in the empire, by favoring Tyrone's practices upon the realm of Ireland.

"Brussels, September 14, 1615."

"*William Turnbull to the earl of Somerset.*

"I am much perplexed for Ireland. Your honor may perceive by that I writ to his majesty, that

Tyrone is shortly expected in these parts. He hath promise from Spain to be assisted when times shall serve. It was told his eldest son lately, by the archduke's ambassador that came from Rome, and is shortly to return thither again, that his father should pass this way into Ireland. Don Diego Sarmente de Acuria wrote hither by the last ordinary, that it was a shame for the Catholic princes they did not assist Tyrone for matter of religion, since all the heretics, as he is pleased to term them, aided the prince of Orange when the troubles began in the Netherlands. The copy of his letters are sent to the pope. In Spain the court is now open again for all Irish suitors, which was shut against their pretentions for two or three years. The friars of that nation at Louvain are to have a new monastery of their order in Poland, and two of the busiest *pates* among them are to be sent thither, for what purpose this is God knoweth; but I fear it is to further an invasion. That I wrote to your honor in my last of sending arms secretly into Ireland from Spain, was delivered to me here for a truth by one of his majesty's pensioners. He had it from a friar, and is now in the camp, so that I cannot make any new inquisition about the matter until his return. Though it prove not true, it can do no harm, in my poor opinion, to impart it. I know not what grounds they may have for it, but am well assured the Irish are very jocund upon the beginning of these wars in Juliers, in the hope, as they say, to go shortly homewards.

"Brussels, August 18, 1615."

Turnbull's despatches leave no doubt that he was in possession of all that O'Neill contemplated, and that his information was obtained from some one who affected

to sympathise with the projected invasion. Lombard, we may presume, had much to do with the disclosures, and got his reward; but the Belgian agent tells us that he was mainly indebted to captain Daniel, for whom he procured a pension of six score pounds sterling per annum, with permission to remove to England or Ireland, if he did not think the latter an unsafe place for one of his calling. Where or how he terminated his career we have not been able to discover; but it may be supposed that, along with his pension, he earned for himself scorn and self-reproach, the never-failing salary of treason. As for O'Neill, who had no sufficient reason to conclude that he had been betrayed by those who were familiar with his intentions, he was bitterly mortified at finding that the contingencies on which he calculated were not likely to be realized. His chiefest hope, as we have already said, was a rupture between the crowns of England and Spain; but instead of finding his opportunity in such a crisis, the gradual decline of that kingdom, under Philip III., consequent on the lavish expenditure of blood and treasure in the Netherlands, during his own and predecessor's reign, rendered peace an absolute necessity. The history of this period also shows that James reciprocated the pacific sentiments of his Spanish majesty, and rather than involve himself in war, preferred the more congenial field of polemics, in which he championed Gomar against Vorstius and other disciples of Arminius. In short, the aged chieftain, for he had now reached his seventy-fifth year, began to see that all his cherished day-dreams had been deluding him—that he was nothing more than a dependant on the bounty of Spain and Paul V., or, at best, an instrument reserved by the former to be used as occasion might require. Now, indeed, he observed that whatever aids he received from Spain during his

wars with Elizabeth, were given, not for the sake of the Irish and their religion, but rather to divert the English from Flanders, and revenge the hostilities they had committed there. These, indeed, were subjects for painful reflection, and all the more poignant, because unquestionably true. What wonder, then, if the iron, well-knit frame, which Camden likened to Cataline's, should have begun to find itself a prey to growing infirmities, and that the mind which informed it should have become conscious of fast-fading powers and loss of that energy which another exile pathetically tells us are the consequence of disappointment and anxiety?*

At the commencement of June, 1615, O'Neill fell seriously ill, and was attended by the pontiff's physician, doctor Barnardini, who then ranked among the most distinguished of his craft. He, doubtless, was well skilled in the pharmacopœia of the period, when potable gold, brayed lapislazuli, dissolved pearls, and mummy dust from the Pyramids, were the specifics most in use. But Tyrone's sickness was of a character which none of these nostrums could cure; and we can readily fancy that a breach between the Dutch provinces and Spain would have done more for his restoration than all the phials in Barnardini's store. At all events, his malady depressed and confined him to his bed some three months or more, till autumn, when he was visited by a doctor Doyne—whether English or Irish does not appear—who was going to enlarge his knowledge of the healing art in Padua,† then "*the nursery of Gallian phisick, prime angular stone of anatomy, and only phœ-*

* "Jam vigor, et quasso languent in corpore vires.
Confiteor facere hoc annos: sed altera causa est
Anxietas animi, continuusque labor."—Ovid, Eleg. v.

† "Extollit *Paduam*, Juris Studium, et Medicinæ."
—Urb. Ital. Descriptio. Thomæ Edward's Angli.

nix in Europe of medical science, in speculative as well as theorick."* The earl and his countess gave Doyne a cordial reception ; and as he was their guest during that glowing month when the grape is ripe for the treaders in the winepress, we will let himself relate what he saw and heard during his sojourn with such distinguished hosts. The letter containing this rare information was addressed by the doctor to "My loving friend, Mr. John Bourke, at Whitehall, in London."

"I wrote from Rome unto you with the post of Paris, and now I have more at large to write unto you, for I was as near to Tyrone and his wife, for the space of two months daily, as any that was in the palace. It was my fortune that she was sick at my coming into the town, and doctor Barnardini, which is their doctor, could do her no good ; but as soon as she heard of me coming into the palace she sent for me, and told me of her disease. With what I did for her she began to be better and better. When Tyrone saw it he was very familiar with me, and had me lodge in his palace. He goes often to the Spanish ambassador's house. He is well beloved from pope, and from all those which are under him, and especially he that thinks to be pope after the death of this man. Last Easter he sent Tyrone a present, and desired him to be of a good courage, and that God keepeth him for to have some comfort in his country hereafter. Though a man would think that he is an old man by sight : no, he is lusty and strong, and well able to travel ; for a month ago, at evening, when his frere† and his gentlemen were all with him, they were talking of England and Ireland, and he drew out his sword : 'His majesty,' said he, 'thinks that I am not

* Aphorismical Description of Faction, MS., T.C.D.

† F. Chamberlaine, O.S.F.

strong. I would he that hates me most in England were with me to see whether I am strong or no.' These that were by said, 'We would we were with forty thousand pounds of money in Ireland, to see what we should do.' Whereon Tyrone remarked, 'If I be not in Ireland within these two years, I will never desire more to look for it.'

"This is the discourse Tyrone and his company had. Posts every Thursday with letters from Spain, from Flanders every Friday. Many pensioners go to Ireland, but for no goodnesses; for if the king of Spain can do anything there, they will take his part before any other. There came from Livorno letters from a lord of England, which is a general of the galleys there, unto Tyrone. Mr. Weaston is dead, the chiefest man he had. O'Neill wrote to his son in Flanders in my behalf, for to have me to serve in his company. Tyrone's wife is young and fair, and the lord primate of Ireland with his men, six Flemings, had one part of the palace of Luny* these seven years, but now, because he and Tyrone could not agree, he is removed into another palace; but some say that this Robert Lombard is the causer of that. I know not; but he departed out of this city a great while ago. Tyrone's wife's foster-sister is gone for Ireland; her husband came out of Ireland against [to] her, and brought all the news and secrets that he could unto Tyrone, and brought with him such secrets as Tyrone could afford him withal. His name is Nicholas Hollywood, dwelling three miles of Dublin. There is another politic fellow, called Shean Crone MacDavit. He went to

* According to O'Keenan's narrative, the palace assigned to O'Neill was the Salviati, built 1557, to lodge Henry III. of France, and restored by cardinal Dezza, 1590, after designs of Longhi. At all events, it is certain that he resided in the Borgo Vecchio, and parish of S. Spirito.

the city of Bourdeaux, and parted from thence into Spain, and wrote unto Tyrone all the news he had from Ireland. The archbishop in Spain,* and the freres in Flanders, receive letters every three months from Ireland. There is but few things done in the court of Ireland, let it be ever so secret, but it will be heard, or else sought out by them; for the Jesuits and freres of Ireland have such good friends about the court which bring them news, and the doings of the said court, wherein that your honor may be assured of. As I am a true servant unto your honor, if you do not take some other course for all your policy and wisdoms, you will be deceived. Tyrone sent for his son, Con, into Ireland. Those that promised that would perform it, if they could do it, they shall be very well considered for their pains; but there came news unto them that he was brought into England some two months past, which news grieved him.

"P.S.—Sixteen ounces of blood I took out of Tyrone's legs drawn by boxing-glasses, the which, for the space of thirteen days, he would have me to come unto him into his bedside, afore he will get out of his bed, to confer and talk with me, and to see how he did."

The few passages of O'Neill's table-talk, for which we are indebted to the peripatetic doctor, seem to argue a state of despondency and melancholy apprehension of the future. There can be no doubt but his thoughts and temper were affected by the difficulties and delays he had already experienced, and perhaps also by a sad presentiment, which he could not suppress, but dared not avow. Moreover, the intelligence he had received of conspiracies in Ulster to exterminate the planters,

* F. Conry.

must have made him grieve that he could not be present where his ability and influence would undoubtedly have concentrated and strengthened those desultory and disconnected efforts, which he might have conducted to a successful issue. Those, however, in the absence of a predominating mind, were easily frustrated by the vulgarest instruments of a petty and vindictive tyranny, and at a period when the entire strength of James' army in Ireland did not exceed a few thousand men, badly equipped, ill-disciplined, and constantly clamoring for arrears of pay. Even so, that wretched army proved strong enough to protect the planters, and discomfit one of the most extensively ramified plots of the period, which counted among its instigators and adherents, the MacDonnells, MacQuillans of the Glynnes and the Route, and many of the indigenous inhabitants of Ulster. As a matter of course, this abortive combination was betrayed to the executive by one who affected to sympathise with it; and we give his informations here, premising that a people governed by wholesome laws seldom conspire against the legislature, and that the informer cannot exist except in an atmosphere of corruption and injustice.

"*The examination of Teage O'Lennan, taken by Thomas Foster, gent, provost-marshal of the county of Londonderry, the 9th of April*, 1615.

"The said Teage being examined what he thought of the state of the country, confessed that Alexander M'Donell, Lother M'Donell, Rorie Oge O'Cahan, Goric M'Manus O'Cahan, Shane M'Manus O'Cahan, Sorley M'James Oge O'Donell, Shane Oge M'Shane, M'Bryan O'Neale, Neale Oge M'Neale, M'Hugh O'Neale, Hugh

Mergagh M'Neale, M'Hugh O'Neale's brother, Hugh Oge M'Quinn, M'Bryan O'Neale, Donell M'Con O'Donell, Hugh Boy M'Con O'Donell, his brother, did agree in certain places to go into rebellion, as followeth :

"First, Alexander M'Donell, Lother M'Donell, Sorley M'James Oge O'Donell, of the Route, with Rorie Oge O'Cahan, of O'Cahan's country, and Gorie M'Manus O'Cahan, and Shane M'Manus O'Cahan, of the barony of Coleraine, meeting at the house of one Gill, three miles from Coleraine, did agree that Alexander M'Donell, should, as chief, with Lother and Sorley, make themselves as strong as they could with men and arms, from the Route, Clandeboyes, and the Scottish Islands, whereupon Alexander M'Donell went to O'Haric's, and sent for the above-named Neale Oge M'Neale, M'Hugh, and his brother, out of the Clandeboyes, who came to him to O'Haric's town, and swore they would be at his command with all their forces they could make.

"Second, Rorie Oge O'Cahan, after his agreement at Gill's house, was to make his best strength from Glanfynne by his own means and the force of Donell M'Conn O'Donell, and Hugh Boy, his brother, of whom he told them he was assured, for that he brought letters to them from sir Neale Garvie out of England.

"Third, Gorie and Shane, the sons of Manus M'Quillan, promised and swore themselves, at the house of Gill aforesaid, to assist them with themselves and all the power they could make in the county of Londonderry or elsewhere.

"These plots of treason they have been about ever since the coming of Rorie O'Cahan out of England, which is, as this examinate saith, about two years, but not fully agreed upon till about midsummer last, at the house of the said Gill as aforesaid, and that then, at the agreement, drew three conditions in writing, putting

their hands to them. Also this examinate confesseth he saw the articles in writing, with all their hands above-named at them as namely these: That first they should go upon Coleraine, and that Rorie Oge, with some others he would procure, would be drinking there all the day, and that he by a friend could command the guard to betray the town, as by letting them in, and that then they being in would burn the town, and only take Mr. Beresforde and Mr. Rowley prisoners, and to burn and kill all the rest, and to take the spoil of the town, and so if they were able to put all the Derry to death by fire and sword, and to spoil the town, and to go from thence to Lifford, where they meant to do the like, except sir Richard Hansard, and so to have gone forwards to Masserine, Carrickfergus, and Mountjoy, and elsewhere; for they thought out of sir Richard, Mr. Beresforde, and Mr. Rowley to have sir Neale Garvie, O'Cahan, sir Cormack M'Barron, and sir Neale Garvie's son set at liberty, who now are in prison in England. These they encouraged themselves to do, for that they said they would not do as O'Dogherty did, but resolved they were able to hold out themselves, until Lother M'Donell, who meant to go to Scotland for the assistance of Collo M'Gillaspie and M'Cloud Joyes' son, with whom Alexander M'Donell and Sorley M'James O'Donell being sent over to Raghlines* to keep them from thence by sir Randall M'Donell, and agreed unknown to Sir Randall that they should be ready upon any occasion when they sent for them, and that the said Lother should go from them to Spain, to procure what strength he could from thence, for they assured themselves they would be here within a month after May, whether he went or no.

* Raghlin island, off the north coast of Antrim, where Robert Bruce took refuge in 1306.

"Further this examinate saith, that a servant of Rorie O'Donell brought letters out of Spain to sir Neale Garvie's brethren, which letters came to Lother M'Donell, and said Lother sent for this examinate to read them, the one, being written in Irish, wherein was written that the said brethren of sir Neale Garvie should be always ready to join with the said Alexander and his associates; and for the other letter, they told him it was written in English, so that he knoweth not the contents thereof. Also, he affirmeth, James Oge M'James M'Henry, within the liberties of Coleraine, is a chief actor in all these businesses, and many others of the meaner sort, who have undertaken to follow them whensoever they shall call for them."

"*Additions upon a second Examination of the above-named Teage O'Lennan, taken by sir Thomas Phillips, kt., the 12th of April*, 1615.

"He averreth all the former depositions above specified to be true as they are set down, and further saith that they intended to take away Con O'Neale, Tyrone's son, and Henry Mac Cormack Mac Barron, and to keep them in their greatest fastness they had, till they were further strengthened; also that Donell Mac Owyne Mac Donell O'Neale of the Brade, Gilpatrick Mac Gorie Mac Gilpatricke Mac Henry, James Mac Morris, Mac Henry, Rice Mac Donell Grome, Donogh Mac Baron, Modder O'Cahan, Bryan O'Mollan, Gilliduffe O'Mollan, Bryan Crossagh O'Neale, and Hugh Mac Shane O'Neale, have all given their consents, and put their hands to the writing above-mentioned; and that all the horsemen and footmen belonging to every of them were acquainted with this treason, and in a readiness against the time they should be called for.

And further saith, that Hugh Mac Shane O'Shane did undertake to burn Mountjoy, and that he did read a letter which Bryan Crossagh wrote to Alexander Mac Donell, assuring him thereby that he and his three brothers-in-law, Maguyre's sons, would be all in readiness with all forces they were able to make to join with them. And further saith, that Neale Mac Hugh's sons wrote a letter to Alexander Mac Donell on Tuesday, the 28th of March, and sent it to him by a fool, to which fool Alexander, upon receipt of the letter, gave his coat off his back, and sent letters by that fool to Bryan Crossagh O'Neale, on Monday, the 3rd of this month, and to Hugh Mac Shane, that they should be ready, with all their friends and forces, to put this treason in execution about the 10th of May next, when all the gentlemen of account would be at the parliament; but he assured them that sir Richard Hansard and the two mayors would be at home, and not go up to the parliament; and as for sir Thomas Phillips, he would be at Dublin long before they should enter into the business, so they assured themselves, so that they might without danger go through with their intended purpose. And further this examinate saith, that he knew all their secrets, and the names of all the gent. that entered into this treason, albeit many of them he hath never seen; and that one Patrick Ballagh O'Murray, a clerk, that belongeth to Alexander Mac Donell, doth ever write the letters that pass from Alexander MacDonell to those other gentlemen; and that he and Laughlin O'Laverty, a priest, Brien O'Laverty, that halteth, and Cormack Roe Mac Esheall, are Alexander Mac Donell's counsellors in this practice. And further saith, that Donell Oge Mac Donell went over the Bann with Gorrie Mac Manus at Christmas last was twelve months, and they lay together in Bryan

O'Laverty's chamber, where they had great store of aquavita secretly. And the said Bryan lay with Gorrie Mac Donell in one bed all that night, and Donell Oge useth for the most part to be with the said Gorrie. And further, being demanded what arms or weapons they have provided for this business, this examinate saith that Lother bought six swords about three weeks past, and hath some twenty men well appointed with swords and some with pieces, that used to be about his house; and that Lother hath a carde in Cormack Mac Quillan's town, that dresseth the weapons for them; and that Alexander Mac Donell is no less provided than Lother for this attempt; and, for the most part of their weapons, they hide them in bogs and waters, but where he knoweth not; and for the other gent. what weapons or furnitures they have, he saith he knoweth not. And this is all he can say, as he saith, touching this business."

It is almost needless to say that the chiefs of this conspiracy were speedily consigned to provost-marshals, who lost no time in hanging them; but as sir Arthur Chichester, now baron of Belfast, has left us an account of the line of conduct pursued by the executive on this occasion, we must let himself relate it. His letter to the privy council proves that he was still in dread of O'Neill's return, and that the government was ill-provided with men or money to meet such an event. The document is also valuable in another sense, showing as it does that notwithstanding the banishment of so many of the natives of Ulster, sent away to the king of Sweden, the new settlers were exposed to imminent danger, owing to causes which his lordship points out.

"May it please your lordships,—I have heretofore

certified you how by many significant tokens, and some felonious and desperate acts committed here, in many places, of late time, I conceived a just suspicion that the people were, for the most part, inclined to some innovations and treason soon after ; whereupon I thought it not less necessary than expedient also, both for restraint and discovery of such enormities, for a time to employ certain provost-marshals itinerant abroad into sundry counties, especially of Ulster, with a few light forces, to inform themselves of the present state of the country, and with commissions to execute martial law upon seditious persons and other notorious malefactors, if they could meet with any, but with such convenient restraint, nevertheless, as it lay not in their own power to put any man to death without the consent and allowance of some justices of the peace, that should, first, take the common fame of the country, and special examinations also, to condemn the party of a long-continued and desperate ill-demeanor. By this means, there is a pack of dangerous conspirators lately discovered amongst them, as to your lordships may more at large appear by the examinations herewith sent. The motive of this discovery was this : the examinate was casually met withal by the provost-marshal appointed by the county of Londonderry, who, having notice of him to be a suspected person and ill-inclined, apprehended him, and soon after carried him to sir Thomas Phillips, knight, to be examined, and to answer his accusers. He was there acquitted of all notorious crimes, and finally dismissed out of the provost-marshal's hands. But, whereas, upon advertisement formerly given unto me, that Alexander M'Donell, the captain of this conspiracy, and Brian Crossagh O'Neill, another of the conspirators, had a purpose to steal away Con O'Neill, Tyrone's son, out of the fort of

Charlemont, for some further bad design, as there was just cause to think, I sent out warrants to apprehend them both; and it so fell out that Alexander was apprehended at that time when the examinate within-named was brought before sir Thomas Phillips, and acquitted as before said, and the news of it came to the said provost-marshal within an hour after he had let the examinate go, whereupon the said provost-marshal remembered himself that the examinate had the said Alexander's pass about him when he first took him; he sent again in post after him, and brought him back to be examined the second time. He told him of Alexander's late apprehension and imprisonment for matters of treason, and that undoubtedly he, for his dependence and nearness unto him, must needs be party or privy unto all his counsels, and therefore persuaded him to reveal what he knew in that behalf, or else threatened to imprison or hang him without delay; whereupon he made these voluntary confessions. Your lordships may be assured of this, that these young men and unexperienced—for so is the chief and many others of them—could never entertain the thought of these desperate attempts, but either they do contemn the paucity and poor estate of the soldiers, and weakness of the undertakers at this present, as well they may, or else they are assuredly confirmed, or at leastwise abused, with some acceptable news of late from beyond the sea, that makes them thus bold. The said Alexander and many of the rest are already apprehended, as I hear, and some of them I have appointed to be brought hither to his majesty's castle; and I will hereafter certify your lordships of the proceedings and event of these things, as there shall be further occasions offered. The thing they affect and will shoot at most is to spoil the forts and garrison places, and espe-

cially the Derry, Coleraine, and Carrickfergus. Coleraine is so wide and so slenderly inhabited withal, as without some fitter and more assured defence than now it hath, it will be lost at one time or other, to his majesty's great offence and hazard of all the country thereabouts. At my being in England, I told the governor of the London plantation, and the rest of the committee of it, and advised them to build a keep in a convenient place of the town, to defend it from thence against a sudden surprise. They promised to give order for it, but it is not yet done, nor since thought upon, I believe, though it imports them no less than Toome and all their other charges there is worth. Again, Carrickfergus is a place of much grea . . . . . and the walls thereof are not yet finished, nor likely to be between this and Michaelmas next, as was appointed, by reason of the slow and bad payments which they have had thus long; for which cause they have been often constrained to dismiss their workmen sundry times for the want of money, and (when they were enabled) to procure their C. . . . again with extraordinary charges. In consideration thereof and of the times, and for that the company of foot now allowed for the effecting of that work, is as serviceable to his majesty as any other company of so . . . . . in any other part of the realm can be, I humbly pray your lordships that you will be pleased once more to move his majesty that it may yet stand still until the work shall be absolutely finished, as it is necessary, for to better purpose no company can stand or be bestowed here. We have no money to do anything withal at this present, if the safety of the kingdom do depend upon it, and I have been so often importunate for needful and timely supplies in that behalf, as I would fear to be distasteful at this time, but that my conscience and

duty towards his majesty and this commonwealth doth take from me all other inferior respects, for which I humbly pray your lordships to pardon me."*.

But as for O'Neill, it mattered little whether these attempts at insurrection succeeded or not; for his health, so seriously impaired at the time of Doyne's visit, had begun to decline sensibly. At the commencement of 1616 he is said to have lost the inestimable blessing of sight; and during the early part of that year he was prostrated by frequent attacks of intermittent fevers, which warned him that with his strength his earthly hopes were fast vanishing. Thenceforth he directed all his thoughts heavenwards, leaving to his sons the work of recovering the territory of which he had been despoiled. The news of his approaching dissolution was communicated to the English cabinet by sir Dudley Carleton, from Venice, and by Turnbull, from Brussels. More agreeable intelligence they could not have sent; and we may presume that it was especially acceptable to archbishop Jones, who had not yet resigned the government of Ireland to lord deputy Oliver St. John. Few particulars of O'Neill's last hours have reached us, but it is certain that his countess and his chaplain, father Chamberlaine, were constant watchers at his bedside, and that the pontiff's physicians were there too, prescribing the best remedies known to the pharmacopœia of the time. But all in vain; for the illustrious patient, after receiving the comforts of religion, expired July 20th, 1616, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. "The prince," say the Four Masters, "who died there—in Rome—far away from Armagh, was a powerful lord, mild and gentle with his friends, pious and charitable, but stern and fierce to his enemies;

* This letter is dated April 18th, 1615.

and it was a token that God was pleased with his life, that he allowed him to breathe his last in Rome, the metropolis of Christendom." Ah! surely it was better to have given up the ghost there, under the shadow of the Vatican, than on the Tower-green or in a cell of that living tomb, where some of those who conspired to ruin him were slowly wearing out the residue of their remorseful years.

O'Neill's exequies took place the day after his decease, for he died in a month when "the burial-rite must needs follow fast the agony." Clothed in the Franciscan habit, and laid on a bier, the lugubrious trappings of which showed the cognizance of the Red Hand, his corse was borne by twelve stalwart Irishmen along the Longara, the Spanish ambassador and three of the chiefest of the Roman nobility holding the pall. Religious of all orders, with lighted torches, preceded and followed the bier, chanting the psalms with which the Church accompanies her departed faithful to the frontier of eternity; and as the long procession slowly ascended the acclivity of the Janiculum, the tolling of a hundred bells, the throb of the muffled-drum, and the minute-guns of S. Angelo, announced to the imperial city, the shepherds of the Campagna, and the vine-dressers among the Alban hills, that an illustrious personage was then about to be laid in his last resting-place. In obedience to the pontiff's command, the church of Montorio was draped in mourning, and nothing was omitted that could lend deepest solemnity to the funeral pomp. Cardinals, Roman patricians, and ambassadors from various foreign courts, assisted at the Mass of Requiem; and when the last absolution was pronounced, the hands of his fellow-exiles deposited the remains of their great chieftain beside those of his son, the baron of Dungannon, and those of the O'Donels, lords of Tyrconnel. This pious duty performed, they had yet another to discharge—namely, to mark the

spot where he reposed ; and this they did with an epigrammatic simplicity seldom found in that last of all vanities—an epitaph.

D . O . M .

HIC . QUIESCUNT .

UGONIS . PRINCIPIS . O'NEILL .

OSSA .

The news of O'Neill's death was communicated to the earl of Somerset by the Belgian minister, in a letter dated Brussels, July 31, and we can easily imagine how Mr. Turnbull felt while penning the following brief advertisement :—"The letters which came from Rome the last week, report that Tyrone is either dead or desperately sick, which is whispered amongst the Irish, but not published, for reasons best known to themselves."*

The individual, however, who certified king James that the man whom his majesty hated and dreaded most had left this world, was sir Francis Cottington, who, writing to secretary Winwood, from Madrid, on the 19th of August, mentions the event thus :—"The earl of Tyrone is dead at Rome, by whose death this king saves 500 ducats every month, for so much pension he had from here well paid him. Upon the news of his death, I observe that all the principal Irish entertained in several parts of this kingdom are repaired unto this court, as O'Sullivan Bear,† or Master of Bearhaven, from the

* For a beautiful and picturesque poem, from the pen of John F. O'Donnell, on this touching episode, the reader is referred to the Appendix.

† For an account of this distinguished Irishman, see his nephew's Hist. Cath. Hib., and also the graceful epic poem "Dunboy," in which Mr. T. D. S. O'Sullivan, one of the same sept, graphically describes the heroic struggle made by the prince of Bearhaven, at the close of Tyrone's wars. O'Sullivan was treacherously killed by John Bath, the informer, in Madrid. "He had then," says his nephew,

Groyne ; Raymond Burke, from Lisbon ; one who calls himself Desmond,* from Bayonne, in Galicia ; and the archbishop of Tuam, from Alcalà, with many others of less note, but captains, and of good quality. I have a friend whom they much trust, who tells me they are extremely discontented, and have lately propounded somewhat, whereunto they got no answer. They went many of them of late to the Escurial, with intention to have spoken both with his majesty and the duke of Lerma ; but they are returned without seeing either, only the archbishop spake with his majesty."†

Cottington has not told what was the object of this repair to the Escurial, but we may reasonably conjecture that the Irish officers serving in Spain were still intent on invading Ireland, and that king Philip was now more inclined than formerly to discountenance the enterprise, since the great chieftain had passed away, leaving no one to supply his place.

As to O'Neill's children, their history is, indeed, a sad one ; for, like their illustrious progenitor, they were doomed to experience vicissitudes which have seldom been paralleled in the accidents of life. Imperfect as this work is in many respects, it would be still more so, were it to close without some biographical notices of

"reached his fifty-seventh year, and was singularly pious, for he heard two, and sometimes three, Masses daily, and was extremely charitable to the poor. In person," as his portrait represents him, "he was tall, elegant and handsome"—*proceres, et elegans statura, vulta pulcher.*

* See O'Daly's Geraldines for a notice of this last of the Desmonds.

† In a letter to the earl of Somerset, August 17, 1616, Turnbull makes the following announcement of O'Neill's death :—"I may now safely and truly by these confirm the news I wrote unto your honor by my last letters, concerning the late earl of Tyrone, who died at Rome the 20th of July, of a fever, and was there buried with great pomp and solemnity, at the charges of the Spanish ambassador."

those on whom the great chieftain calculated "to keep his name living to time." Indeed, the omission would be unpardonable, since the State Papers, on which we have drawn so largely, and a manuscript work, more than once quoted in these pages, furnish facts regarding two of them—Con and Bernard—which cannot be read without awakening a feeling of pity for their cruel and untimely fate. And first, touching the child Con, left behind in the hurry of the flight, the reader is already aware that he was taken by sir Toby Caulfield from the tender care of his fosterers, and consigned to mercenary strangers, with some allowance for his sustenance. The place of his abode was, it seems, the castle of Charlemont; and his unloving guardian, sir Toby, like the generality of proselytizers, being very anxious for the propagation of religious tenets which he may or may not have believed, resolved to rear him up a Protestant. O'Neill was made aware of this most unjustifiable outrage upon his paternal rights, and would fain have rescued the child from the hands of his unfeeling captor. Prayer or entreaty could not effect this, and the parent bethought him that he might, perhaps, achieve it through the agency of some of his old followers, who must have grieved to see that scion grafted on so detested a stock. The attempts to frustrate this consummation have been already alluded to in some of Chichester's despatches, and it is almost superfluous to remind the reader that the unhappy fate of the child dashed the old earl's mirth, the day he gave doctor Doyne such signal proof of unimpaired strength at his hospitable board. At that very time there was a plot on foot to recover Con, and have him conveyed to Rome; but unhappily for him it failed, partly through the faithlessness of one of the accomplices, and partly through the *uskebagh*, which has often marred many as

good a scheme in Ireland. The official report of this transaction is minute, and shows how earnest the government of the time was for the salvation of young Papists' souls, even while robbing them of their material rights :—

"*The Examination of Dermod Oge Dun, being about the age of* 30 *years, taken by me, Edmond Blomer, high sheriff of the county of Tyrone, at several times in February and March, in the year* 1614.

"Who saith, that about a fortnight of All Saints' Day last, he and Owen M'Fardoragh Boy M'Guier were in a town of Bryan Roe M'Guyer's, unto whom there came a boy of Bryan Crossagh O'Neale, called James O'Donell, and did tell the examinate that Bryan Crossagh sent for him by the same token that he gave him a sword; whereupon the examinate and Owen Boy did go to a place where Cormack M'Redmond Moyle Maguyre and Phelim Duffe M'Quillan Roe was, and conferring together awhile, the examinate and Owen M'Fardoragh Boy did go before them to Bryan Crossagh's house being in Fermanagh, and there coming in they found Bryan and his wife lying upon a bed, a little after night, and Edmund O'Mullarky upon another bed in the next room. When Bryan did see them, he did rise up and went forth with the examinate to a hedge hard by the house, and then Bryan willed the examinate to call forth Owen M'Fardoragh Boy, and being together, Bryan asked the examinate whether he was doing service to the Englishmen upon the Irish, who answered he did. Then Bryan asked what he had got by it; he said he had got his pardon. Whereupon Bryan answered that it were better for him to do that which should do good both to his soul and body,

and it would be more profitable to him than all that he should get by all the English. After which words Bryan caused a wench to call forth Art Oge O'Neale and Owen his brother, which the examinate did not see before they came to Bryan without. Then, after they were all together, Cormack M'Redmond Moyle Maguyre and Phelim Duffe M'Quilan Roe came towards them, asking what earnest business they had that they might not come to them. Bryan Crossagh said they were welcome, for he was looking for them. Cormack, said Bryan, you are a gentleman; and I will tell you a business in which, if you will join with us, God and the country will thank you; and if you will follow my counsel, you shall have your share as well as I. Then, said Cormack, what was that he would have him do. Then Bryan answered that he had a service in hand good both for soul and conscience. Whither will you go? said Cormack; who answered, not out of the country. Then said Cormack to Art Oge O'Neale, are you there? I and Dermod and Owen M'Fardoragh will hang you. I shall not be glad of that, said Art; but I had rather we should join in this service and to be all friends, if you will follow my counsel. Said Bryan: Edmund O'Mullarky is within, to whom we will go, and I will warrant you that you shall have your own saying. Whereupon they all gave him their words. Bryan told them that Art Oge and all the Clandonnells would join with them; and so being in the house they did drink uskebagh, after such time as they had given their words. Further, Bryan did tell them that he was promised that Con O'Neale should be brought to him by one that was very near to sir Toby. The examinate asked how he durst trust any of sir Toby's followers. Thou art a fool, said he. Then Art Oge said: I will warrant you that he that did promise him will bring him. Then said the examinate, it must

be an Irishman. Whereupon he asked what he was that he did trust to do it; Bryan said that it is one which sir Toby will never mistrust. Well, said he, being you have begun it, let not the service fall. Then said Bryan, fear nothing; for it is Edmund Drum that hath promised to bring Con unto me, and will go himself with us. The examinate asked how he would get him; who answered that, when it was his turn to guard, he would, after such time as the lieutenant was asleep, bring him forth to himself, and he would receive him, and so ride away with him; and Edmund Drum should return, because nobody should mistrust him; and then, upon their going forth, he should come to him. The examinate asked whether he thought he would be true; whereon Art Oge did answer that he need not fear that, for he had passed his promise to Bryan. I warrant you when we have Con, sir Toby will never be seen in Tyrone again. Whereupon Art Oge did take out of a painted box a writing, and showed it them, being a long piece of paper, wherein, as he said, there was the hands of many gentlemen put to it of all such as would assist them. Then Cormack, seeing the box, said, that box is the box that Art Oge Mac Baron's son sent you out of Spain. Then said Edmund O'Mullarky, I would to God here were as many as are from whence the box came. I would there were, said Bryan Crossagh; and with that leaped up. Now, said Edmund O'Mullarky, gentlemen, are you ready upon my counsel? Bryan, do you remember when O'Dogherty did send you a letter when you were in the Brade,* that letter did I write myself? and, had O'Dogherty followed my counsel, he had been

* A district in county Down. The Brade or Bredagh is also the name of a river that falls into Lough Foyle.

a live man. Now, gentlemen, seeing you have undertook this service, go forward, and you shall not want for gold and silver to supply your wants. Whereupon they all concluded to undertake this service, which should have been a while after sir Toby had been at Dublin. Further, Art Oge O'Neale said that James Mac Sorley Boy, his son, hath promised to give them help, and that there was a token betwixt them; and at what time soever the token was sent, that then they should rise up in arms in these parts, for they will begin first. And here is one William Stewart, that did marry Bryan Crossagh's sister, that is of the best blood, and is a lusty young man, and he will join with us. Now, for not executing their intended service, was because they heard not from James Mac Sorley Boy's son, whose hand was to the writing that Art did show them, as he said. And further, the examinate said that Art Oge did write a letter in his presence, and thother that were with him; and after he had written the letter, the examinate and the rest did see Edmund O'Mullarky put his hand to the letter, and Bryan Crossagh made a mark, and then Art Oge did put his hand, and the letter had three seals, and was delivered by Art to Bryan Crossagh, who promised to send it with all speed, but whither the examinate knew not then, but heard afterwards it was to James Mac Sorley Boy's son. They were in council three days about this business. Further he saith, that one Arnogh Kennay, follower to Bryan, did tell him, after they had concluded, that he knew there was a writing in a painted box to that effect.

"Art Oge O'Neale did send to the sub-sheriff to meet him in Fentonagh, where he would be worth to him ten pounds if so be he would tell him what . . . . accuse him withal."

The discovery of the plot led Chichester to conclude that Charlemont was an unsafe place for Con, Caulfield's vigilance and "merciless mercy" notwithstanding; and he, therefore, had him brought up to Dublin, and placed under the tutelage of some orthodox individual, who, doubtless, spared no pains to convince the young scholar that his father was "a barbarous lord," and the religion he practised "abominable idolatry." But Dublin, it would appear, was just as insecure for the boy as Charlemont, for the citizens liked him, pitied him, as well they might, and mayhap regretted that he was not in Rome or Belgium, far away from the gloomy, ill-favored Puritan, who had done his father so much wrong. Apprehending that some priest or sympathizing layman would carry off Con, even from Dublin Castle, Chichester wrote to the king to know how he was to deal with his ward:—

"Upon the advertisement I had that they had a purpose to steal away Con, the son of Tyrone, from Charlemont, as aforesaid, I caused him to be brought up hither to this town, where he is at school. He hath now attained unto the age of fourteen or fifteen years, and the eyes of the country are much fixed upon him, as your lordship may easily believe and see. He is not safe here, if his majesty and your lordships do hold him in any estimation; and therefore I humbly pray you to consider what to have done with him, whom the people are apt to make an idol of, if they had occasion and means convenient."

What answer the lord deputy received does not appear; but it is certain that the lords of the privy council did make much account of Con, for they sent

him to Eton College, where he remained a brief space. But even that royal school was not deemed safe against the Papists, whom his father might have been able to influence; and the poor young lad was removed for safer custody to the Tower of London. "*Con O'Neille*," says sir Allen Apsley, constable of the Tower, "*a sonne of the earle of Tyrone's, being at Eaghton Colledge, at scoole, was taken thence and committed, by warrant of your lordships, the* xii*th of August*, 1622. *He is of a civill and good condicion*." Poor helpless boy! The rest of his story is known only to the walls of that grim prison, where unavailing regrets and unheeded supplications must have broken his young heart, if he was not despatched either by poison or by the dagger.

No less mournful was the fate of Bernard, Con's brother, whom O'Neill left at Louvain to be educated by the Irish Franciscans. One of that renowned community has given us a vivid memoir of his pupil, and a most pathetic account of his untimely decease, which we reproduce from the Latin.

"On the 16th of August, 1617," says Father Mooney, "a most deplorable event occurred in Brussels about six o'clock in the afternoon, when young Bernard, son to the great earl of Tyrone, came to his death. He was only nine years old when appointed page to the archdukes, having been reared almost from his cradle by our brotherhood, and by them brought up so excellently, that when he was admitted to the court, every one regarded him with affectionate admiration, blessed his innocent soul, and called him their young rosebud, redolent of choicest virtues.* A fair child, in sooth,

* "Rosella ex optimarum virtutum compactione animula ejus benedicta habebatur."

was Bernard, devout, fond of books, learned men, military science, in which, had God spared him, he might one day have rivalled his illustrious father. But these qualities provoked the jealousy of some enemy to his most noble race; for, alas! it is the fate of genius to be looked upon with jaundiced eye, while no one envies the thing that crawls and slimes its way along.* He had been four years in the service of their Highnesses, when, on the day and hour aforesaid, some Judas, if possible more pitiless than the first, stole upon him, and strangled him with a cord about four or five feet long. His servants, the one a French boy, and the other Irish, coming to his apartment, found him dead; and when the awful intelligence reached the archdukes, they instantly commanded chancellor Becky to investigate the whole matter, and report upon it without loss of time. Some presumed to say that Bernard had been guilty of self-murder, but nothing could have been more false; for, after a searching investigation, it was discovered that the assassin, whoever he was, had tied the boy's hands behind his back. But, indeed, such evidence as this was not required to prove that one so pious, so given to the practice of virtue, could not be guilty of so heinous a crime; nevertheless, the inquest was held, and it was shown beyond doubt that the boy was foully murdered in the absence of his tutor, father Nicholas Aylmer, who had gone to procure lodgings for him near the summer residence of the archdukes."

Poor young Bernard! Surely it was a merciful dispensation of Providence that your father did not live to

* "Omnis vita virtute emergens odium apud malos et inertes habet, ignavis autem et humistratis animis nemo invidet."

learn that you had perished by the hand of an unknown assassin. At home and abroad, the terrible circumstances of this immature death awakened sympathy ; so much so, that even George, lord Carew, did not fail to mark his horror of it thus :—"The earl of Tyrone, that infamous traitor, had lately in the Low Countries two sons : the eldest, colonel of the Irish regiment with the archdukes ; his younger brother, Bryan, was, at Brussels, found hanged in his chamber *with his hands bound behind him*, but by whom this villanous act was committed is not known."* Bernard's remains were conveyed to Louvain, and interred in the Franciscan convent there.

As for Henry O'Neill, the reader has already seen that he was in high favor with the king of Spain and the archdukes, who bestowed upon him most signal marks of their esteem. It has been often asserted that he was sent to Spain in his childhood as a hostage for his father's allegiance to Philip III., but this was not the fact ; for he was brought to this country by his tutor, father MacCaghwell, to complete his studies at Salamanca, and make himself perfect in military science, as became the son of the prince of Tyrone. While commanding the Irish regiment in the Low Countries, he won the heart of a lady with "blue blood" in her veins, but we have had no means of ascertaining whether he died married or single. At all events, it is certain that the English cabinet looked on the projected alliance with great jealousy and suspicion, and instructed Mr. Turnbull to exercise his ingenuity in preventing it. In July, 1615, the latter informed his government that "father Chamberlaine had come to Brussels, with letters from Tyrone, to set

* Publications of the Camden Society.

forward and conclude the said marriage," which, it was alleged, was sure to be beneficial to the Catholics of Ireland, and those of Ulster especially. In behalf of the colonel, it was alleged that he was son of a prince whose ancestors had reigned with kingly sway over a large territory, and that he was heir-apparent to the domains of his illustrious father, then an exile for his devotedness to religion and country—in a word, that the daughter of secretary Mancisador could not bestow her hand or fortune on one more worthy of both.

"For his marriage with the party mentioned in my former letters," writes Turnbull, "there have been alleged these three reasons—first, that he was an absolute prince; secondly, that his lands were 160 miles in circuit, and his revenues one hundred and twenty thousand crowns by the year; and thirdly, that this match would be beneficial to the Church of Rome. Hereunto it hath been answered by a good patriot for the crossing of this alliance, that Tyrone never was a sovereign prince, but an usurper, and a vassal to the crown of England; that now he had not one foot of land in the world, his person being attainted of high treason, and his lands, therefore, confiscated by act of parliament; neither had he at this time any other revenues than his monthly pensions; and lastly, that it could not be good for the Church, in regard the state of England, which was jealous and sharp-sighted, if it should once perceive that the said alliance were made, would extirpate all the Roman Catholics now settled in Ulster, and plant heretics in their room. With these allegations it is hoped that malevolent conjunction will be broken, and the colonel left to seek a wife elsewhere."

The threats here held out were certainly the best calculated to thwart this alliance, and there was no necessity of being reserved in using them, as we have seen that they were already in process of execution, which must have been well known to the colonel and the Spanish authorities. This, however, does not in the least diminish the atrocity of such threats, nor the infamous hardihood evinced in employing them. What was their ultimate effect we know not, but both this document and the following will show the anxiety and activity of a government conscious of wrong, and ever employing unscrupulous and unblushing agencies :—

"*W. Turnbull to sir Ralph Winwood.*

"Right honorable,—Having an eye still upon the alliance in treaty between the Irish colonel and the daughter of secretary Mancisador, which now seemeth to grow more mature than when I formerly wrote thereof to your honor, it was my chance to light upon a letter, the copy whereof I send your honor herein closed, by the assistance of the party which gave me notice of that business ; so that now, having seen the original myself, and knowing it to be written, though in obscure terms, by one that hath good credit with the said secretary, I am verily persuaded of the truth of that information, and think it is high time some underhand means were used to prevent the match. The party from whom I had the letter hath made offer of his service to that effect ; but I dare not meddle in a matter of this nature without your honor's special warrant and directions on that behalf ; neither have I wherewithal to reward his travels, which I am sure shall not be employed gratis. May it please your honor to consider of this business, and to

let me know in time convenient what is fittest to be of Tyrone done therein."

Of Henry's career we have not been able to get further data; but there is no doubt that he continued colonel of the Irish regiment till his death, which must have occurred some time before 1626, when the earldom devolved on John.

The latter succeeded to the command held by his brother, and was highly honored by Philip IV., who advanced him to the rank of major-general. That he did not abandon the hope of being one day able to recover his inheritance is quite certain, and that lord deputy Falkland was apprehensive of his return to Ireland, will appear from the following passages of a letter which his Excellency addressed to Lord Killultagh, under the date April 27, 1627 :—

"Out of Munster his lordship hath the same advertisement confirmed, with this addition, that the books said to be landed at Drogheda, in November last, were, amongst other things, to this purpose, viz., a declaration of Tyrone's title to Ulster, with a signification to all people in Ireland that the king of Spain was resolved to send him over with an army in July next, and in Ulster to denounce him king thereof, and there to crown him, and that withal he should be governor of all Ireland in the king of Spain's behalf, with power to create such and such noblemen for the better encouragement of men of name to adhere unto him, and for the better security of all Papists within the land, the better to win them either to take part with him or not to oppose him. A proclamation is then to be published, that no Papist throughout the kingdom, of what descent or condition soever,

shall lose one drop of blood, or one penny value of either lands or goods. It is given out amongst them that Tyrone hath his crown already delivered him, not now of peacock's feathers, as his father's was, but all of pure gold, and lies constantly upon his table by his bedside, in his chamber at Brussels, under the continual guard of his own eye."

But John, however well-disposed to come to Ireland, was prevented from doing so by the Spanish king, who needed his services in the Low Countries. He had great influence at the Roman court; for, at his request, Urban VIII. promoted his old preceptor, father MacCaghwell, to the primatial see of Armagh, in 1626,* and when the latter died, he caused a mural monument to be erected to his memory, in the church of S. Isidoro, at Rome. The pope showed great deference to his recommendations, at a period when the archbishop of Tuam and father Luke Wadding were always consulted on the fitness of individuals nominated to Irish sees, as will appear from the following passage in Harold's biography of his uncle :—"*Quamdiu habebunt P. Lucam Romæ in tanta estimatione positum, Madriti archiepiscopum Tuamensem, et Bruxellis, comitem Tyroniæ videtur impossibile illos in ulla re superare; horum etenim quisque plus habet favoris. et fidei in qualibet ex dictis curiis, quam reliqui omnes suæ nationis.*"

At the commencement of the Irish rising in 1641, earl John would certainly have gone to Ireland, had he not been obliged to proceed to Catalonia, where he fell, at the head of his regiment, in an engagement with the insurgents. It has been asserted that he accompanied Rinuccini to Ireland, but the nunzio's

* See letter in Appendix.

correspondence shows that John was dead when he arrived there.

Touching the son of Rory O'Donel, we may not omit to mention that Turnbull did his utmost to get possession of the illustrious boy's person. His object, doubtless, was to snatch so precious a brand from the burning, by sending him to England to be brought up in the "reformed religion." Happily, however, for Hugh, his aunt and "tutrice," the lady Nuala, rejected the agent's overtures, and frustrated his wicked schemes. Had he succeeded, we may presume that the youthful earl of Tyrconnel must have closed his days with his kinsman, Con, in the Tower of London. The account of Mr. Turnbull's interview with the lady Nuala, will be found in the following letter, written towards the close of the last session of king James' Irish parliament. The only comment we can offer on the document is, that the English government, after robbing the boy of his rightful inheritance, was very solicitous for his soul's salvation :—

"*William Turnbull to the king.*

"Having among my acquaintance of the Irish nation here recovered the copies of the petitions which accompany this despatch, I thought it my duty to send them to your majesty, to the end it might, through your majesty's means, be made known in Ireland what factions and divisions are now reigning among them, and as well in that kingdom as in these parts they might be fermented, and kept on foot for the advancement of your majesty's royal service. The perfidious Machiavellian friars at Louvain, fearing this, seek by all means to reconcile their countrymen in their affections, and to com-

bine both those that are descended of the English race, and those that are mere Irish, in a league of friendship and concurrence against your majesty and the true religion, now professed in your kingdoms. This is done by the advice and approbation of Spain, for the backing of Tyrone, and weakening of your majesty's party in Ireland; and, as it may be conceived, ought, with all care and diligence, to be impeached. At some time of leisure it may please your majesty for your recreation to read over the said papers, and thereof, in case it shall, by your great wisdom, be found expedient, to impart the contents to the lord deputy of Ireland, whom I understand to be now at London. The Irish, to make your majesty more hated among foreign princes, and to procure some assistance for Tyrone, and to stir up rebellion in their country, have suggested to the Italians and Spaniards that they are certainly informed your majesty should intend to extirpate the Romish religion out of all the parts of your majesty's dominions; and there being no way to accomplish that design but by supplanting the Papists in Ireland, had resolved, in the future parliament, shortly to be holden, there to establish certain new laws against the said religion. To these articles the endeavoring to remove Tyrone from Rome, and procuring him leave to come hither, do add some credit and lustre. And I am ascertained by some friends, that the titulary bishop of Tuam, in Spain, hath written to the friars here, or at least they publish it for an undoubted truth, to some other end, as I lately advertised to my lord of Somerset, that it was resolved by the Spaniard to increase that Irish regiment to the number of 2,000, and to bestow 2,000 crowns a month over and above their ordinary entertainments upon such gentlemen of quality as shall serve in the same. Nevertheless, it may probably be

conjectured that this is rather a feigned invention of the said friars, to keep the regiment from disbanding, and withdrawing themselves from these countries to the wars in France or Germany, than any real intendent of the Spaniard ; but howsoever it fall out, it cannot be hurtful to provide for the worst. The Lady Nuala, sister to O'Donel, that died in Rome, and now tutoress to the late earl of Tyrconnel's son, living at Louvain, took occasion the last week to pass through this town under color of going a pilgrimage to the Lady of Hal, and late in the evening sent, as secretly as she could, to request me to come to her lodging, not daring, as she pretended, to come to mine, and speak with her about some business concerning your majesty's service. I forthwith proceeded to her to know her pleasure. She first began by some vows and protestations of duty and obedience to your majesty ; and afterwards conjuring me to be secret in that she should reveal, told me she could not in any other matter do your majesty so much service as in the withdrawing the said young gentleman from hence, wherein she would use mine assistance. I answered that I had no commission to deal in affairs of that nature, neither durst I undertake them without your majesty's special order and commandment on that behalf ; but I promised for her contentment to acquaint your majesty, as soon as I could, with the overture she had made unto me concerning her kinsman, and thereupon attend your majesty's gracious pleasure, and acquaint her with the answer your majesty should vouchsafe to make me thereupon. The principal points she did then urge was your majesty's grace and pardon for the said gentleman, together with the restoring of his father's lands. I told her that, considering the grievousness of his father's ingratitude and offences against your majesty were such as the world did know them to be,

that the son could not in reason expect any such favor at your majesty's hands; but if she did intend to do any good for the young gentleman, she should only demand his pardon and leave to go to England, and refer the rest to your majesty's accustomed bounty and clemency. She prayed me to present her suit to your majesty, and therein to do all the good offices I might, whereunto I did yield; and so we parted. I suppose, and want not grounds of my supposition, that if it may stand with your majesty's good liking to call home the aforesaid young gentleman, that it may be done upon indifferent terms, and would much traverse the plotting of Tyrone, and enfeeble his reputation."

We have no knowledge of any further attempts made to bring him to England, but we find him distinguished, for a considerable period after, in the service of the king of Spain. In that service he died at sea, in 1642, in the twenty-sixth year of his age; and in him became extinct in the male line the race of the celebrated sir Hugh, prince of Tyrconnel.*

As for O'Neill's widowed countess, we have not been able, despite diligent search among the State Papers, to discover whether she returned to Ireland or died in Rome; the presumption is that she may have gone to Belgium. At all events, the Necrology of S. Pietro Montorio, where she, doubtless, would have been buried had she died in the Eternal City, has no record of her interment there. It gives, however, one which we may not omit, namely, that of Henry O'Hagan, O'Neill's faithful secretary, who deceased in 1610, and was buried close to the grave of the young baron of Dungannon.

* For ample details concerning the earls of Tyrconnel, see the late Dr. O'Donovan's "O'Donnells in Exile," Duffy's Hib. Magazine,

Having dwelt at such length on those memorable exiles, who never revisited their native land, we have thought it advisable, before closing this volume, to append a brief memoir of Owen O'Neill, by the Spaniards called Don Eugenio, and by the Irish Owen Ruadh, or the Red. He was son of Art, brother to the great Hugh, and consequently nephew to the exiled prince of Tyrone, with whom he fled to the Continent in 1607. Owen received his primary education from the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, adopted the military profession, and rose to the command of the Irish regiment serving under Philip III. and his successor, for whom he held the city of Arras against three marshals of France, till, owing to want of Spanish aid, and the defeat of the cardinal, Ferdinand of Austria, he was obliged to make an honorable capitulation,* an account of which will be found in D'Hericourt's *Sieges D'Arras*. In April, 1642, a deputation from the northern Irish proceeded to Brussels, where Owen O'Neill, with his wife, Rosa O'Dogherty, widow of Caffar O'Donel, and his sons were then residing, and offered him the chief command of the Ulster forces. Owen accepted the proposal, and the more readily, because his Holiness Urban VIII.—the same who gave his uncle such cordial welcome in Bologna —and father Luke Wadding pronounced him the fittest man for so responsible a charge. With moneys sent him from Rome, he purchased a frigate, some arms and munitions, and resolved to lose no time in joining his countrymen, then in arms for God, king, and native land. Those whom he elected to accompany him were Henry, Bryan, and Con, his own sons, and O'Cahan, Bryan MacPhelim O'Byrne, Owen O'Dogherty, Gerald Fitzgerald, and some others of courageous repute,

* 1641.

out of that vulcanian forge and martial theatre—Flanders.* The English government being apprised of this projected "invasion," instructed their officers in those ports where it was conjectured he might land to seize him if possible; and the better to accomplish this, a description of his person† was circulated along the English and Irish shores.

On the point of leaving Brussels, Owen wrote to father Luke Wadding, impressing on him the necessity of sending supplies of moneys and munitions to Ireland, and beseeching him to obtain for all those joined in the enterprise his Holiness' benediction.‡ Everything being ready for the voyage, he went aboard ship in the neighborhood of Dunkirk, and despatched the following, which we translate from the Spanish, to father Luke Wadding:

"Rev. Father,—The day before my embarkation, which was the eve of Holy Trinity, thirty Dutch men-of-war having extended themselves, and taken up all the passes from before Gravelines to Ostend, in such sort that, finding myself in the impossibility of coming out with my frigate, in order to lose no time, I resolved, and on two occasions attempted, to get out of this in a small boat, with two little pieces, fifteen soldiers, and some ammunition. I intended making another attempt to-night, but have been dissuaded by the captains, on

* In a letter from sir Henry de Vic to lord Falkland, dated May, 1642, the following passage occurs: "O'Neill hath left his house, and I cannot learn where or whither he has taken another. This renews my jealousy that he proposes to go into Ireland. Upon a more exact inquiry of his person, I am informed that he is not bald, only hath something a higher forehead, and wears his hair longer than usual."—Clarendon State Papers, vol ii.

† Aph. Discovery.

‡ See Appendix.

account of having no means of defence beyond what I have stated. My nephew, therefore, Don Bernardo, will go with the captain of the man-of-war and some ammunition, in order to apprise [our people] of my arrival. I expect to leave this with the frigate by the 25th or 26th, when we shall have no moon, dark nights, and high tides. It may also happen that, by this time, that the king's frigates will put to sea, and thus render our passage more secure.

"I beseech your paternity to oblige me by undertaking the affair I have confided to you, and to hurry, without loss of time, the business you have on hands. Communicate to me all the news you can gather in Ireland and in England, as also from foreign parts, and in like manner what they say of me, as I am given to understand that all [my affairs] are publicly spoken of everywhere. Send me a full account of all [you know] by this messenger, whom I send solely for this purpose; and, as I said, spin out the time until the 25th or 26th of the present month. May God guard your paternity as I desire.

"At sea, on board the frigate Saint Francis, 18th June 1642.

"Don Eugenio O'Neill."

The St. Francis, it seems, was chased several days by an English cruiser, but fortunately escaped, and dropped anchor at Castle Doe, in Donegal, towards the end of July. The news of Owen's landing soon reached sir Phelim O'Neill and the other Irish chiefs, who set out to welcome him, and then adjourned to Clones, where, at a general meeting, comprising the O'Reillys, O'Cahans, MacMahons, sir James MacAlaster MacDonnell, and others, Owen was elected commander

of the northern forces, and sir Phelim president of Ulster. In the interval between Owen's return to Ireland and the coming of the nunzio Rinuccini, sent by Innocent in 1645, the former had organized a very efficient army, and defeated the parliamentary troops in various actions. His grand victory, however, was not achieved till June, 1646, when, with the aid of moneys and munitions given him by the nunzio, he routed Munroe's army at Benburb. An incident occurred in this battle which led to a very singular sequel. It is specially interesting, from its having hitherto escaped the research of historians. Lord Montgomery, of Ards, of the family of the pluralist bishop of Derry, was taken in the action, and placed in safe custody by O'Neill, in Cloughouter. Charles I. wrote a pressing letter to O'Neill soliciting his enlargement. The refusal of the latter will be seen in the following dignified answer. The correspondence presents the son of the monarch, whose injustice drove into exile and robbed O'Neill's illustrious uncle, suing the victorious general for a small favor, when he himself was on the eve of losing his crown and his life.

" May it please your Majesty,—I received your highness' letters of the eighth and twentieth of October, and the tenth of January last ensuing thereof, to set at liberty the lord viscount Montgomery, of Ards, who was taken prisoner by my forces in June last. I most humbly beseech your majesty to accept of these my reasons as my apology and excuse for not complying with your majesty's pleasure herein for the present ; for I do and will ever profess to be one of your majesty's most loyal and obedient subjects, and will, in testimony thereof, be ready upon all occasions to observe your commands. But, dread sovereign, be

pleased to understand that the lord viscount Montgomery, of Ards, hath sided these two years past and more with the parliament rebels of England, in open hostility against your majesty, and especially against this nation of Ireland, and therein hath been more eager and active than any of his party, he being commander-in-chief of all the horse of his party in the province of Ulster here; and for this reason, and for that the party of the Scots adhere to the parliament against your majesty, hath lately, contrary to the capitulation made between the lord marquis Montrose, on your majesty's part, and the state of Scotland, most traitorously executed and put to death lieutenant-colonel Anguish Mac Allaster Duffe MacDonnell, and used the like cruel execution, after quarter given, upon lieutenant-colonel O'Cruice, major —— Laughlin, major ——, and divers other commanders, with many hundred others of inferior sort. And I cannot but represent unto your highness' memory, how the marquis of Antrim, falling twice into the hands of the Scots as their prisoner, was refused by them to be enlarged, though your majesty, by several gracious letters and messages, earnestly sought the same; likewise the queen of France, who employed a special gentleman of her own purposely about this to the Scots: all which be motives to me not to afford them so great a favor. And I am confident, were your majesty informed of these particulars, and of the proceedings of the Scots, whose language your highness seems now to utter, and you were in that free condition you ought to be, your majesty would never have been drawn to press me into the enlargement of so notorious a rebel, and to forfeit an enemy unto all this nation.

"So most humbly begging your majesty's pardon for this my freedom of boldness, and forbearing at present of executing this your royal commands, expressed in

these your letters, I, in all humbleness, take leave.—Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant and subject,

"Owen O'Neill."*

The subsequent career of this celebrated man is prominently marked in the pages of Irish history, and those even moderately acquainted with it need not be told with what consummate generalship he discomfited and held in check the ablest of the parliamentary leaders of his time, or how devotedly he clung to the papal nunzio till that personage returned to Italy in 1648. Don Eugenio and sir Phelim O'Neill were rival aspirants to the earldom of Tyrone ; but, had the former lived to defeat Cromwell, there can be little doubt that he would have got the title and the princely domain of which his uncle was so unjustly dispossessed. In October, 1649, Owen, after rendering signal service to sir Charles Coote, junior, in Derry, fell seriously ill, and had to be carried in a litter to the residence of his brother-in-law, Philip O'Reilly, at Cloughouter, in the county of Cavan. The popular belief was that he had been drugged with poison "of slow operation ;"† but nothing could have been more mistaken, since his physicians pronounced his disease acute gout. His last political act was a declaration of his willingness to join the marquis of Ormond against the common enemy ; but five days after he despatched the following letter, his noble soul was called to receive that imperishable crown, which heaven awards to those whose patriotism is vivified by faith and piety.

* Carte Papers, Bodleian, Oxford, vol. xx, p. 232.
† Aph. Discovery.

"May it please your Excellency,—Being now in my deathbed, without any great hopes of my recovery, I call my Saviour to witness that, as I hope for salvation, my resolution, ways, and intentions, from first to last, in these unhappy wars, tended to no particular ambition or private interest of mine own, notwithstanding what was or may be thought of to the contrary, but truly and sincerely to the preservance of my religion, the advancement of his majesty's *service*, and just liberties of this nation, whereof, and of my particular reality and willingness to serve your Excellency above any other in the kingdom, I hope, if God will permit me, to give ample and sufficient testimony in the view of the world ere it be long.

"However, if, in the interim, God pleaseth to call me away, I do most sincerely recommend to your Excellency's care my son and heir, colonel Henry O'Neill, praying and desiring that your Excellency may be favorably pleased, not only to prosecute a present course, that we may participate of the late peace, but also of the benefit of such conditions, concessions, and creation as his master intended for me, and was assured for me by your Excellency in his master's name, by an instrument bearing date at Kilkenny, the 29th of September last, and that, in case of my death, your Excellency will not only assure him thereof, under hand and seal, but likewise by aiding and assisting him in the timely procurement thereof.

"And in so doing your Excellency will highly oblige me, my said son, and the posterity of your Excellency's humble Servant,

"Owen O'Neill."

One who, doubtless, witnessed Owen Roe's closing scene, describes it thus: "He died in our Lord, on the

6th of November, 1649, a true child of the Catholic religion, in full sense and memory; many of both secular and regular clergy assisting him in such a doubtful transit. Being most devout to all religious, and ever during his life, especially to the order of St. Dominic, he wore his habit as a sure buckler against the rigor of future judgment, and was interred in the monastery (*recte* convent) of St. Francis, Cavan, to oblige both patriarchs." The loss of such a man at so momentous a crisis was bitterly bewailed by the Irish people; and the enthusiastic anonymous author whom we have just quoted, tells us that some fancied Owen was lulled to sleep and snatched away to some secret corner of the world, as another Elias, God designing to keep him there for future better purposes. The bards, too, gave utterance to the popular grief on this mournful occasion; but of all the dirges composed at the period, none was more plaintive than that of O'Daly, which has been so faithfully rendered from the Irish, by James Clarence Mangan.

KEENE.

Oh, mourn, Erin, mourn!
He is lost, he is dead,
By whom thy proudest flag was borne,
Thy bravest heroes led.
The night-winds are uttering
Their orisons of woe,
The raven flaps his darkling wing
O'er the grave of Owen Roe—
Of him who should have been thy king,
The noble Owen Roe!

Alas! hapless land,
It is ever thus with thee;
The eternal destinies withstand
Thy struggles to be free.

One after one thy champions fall—
Thy valiant men lie low;
And now sleeps under shroud and pall
The gallant Owen Roe—
The worthiest warrior of them all,
The princely Owen Roe!

Where was sword, where was soul
Like to his below the skies?
Oh! many a century must roll
Ere such a chief shall rise.
I saw him in the battle's shock—
Tremendous was his blow—
As smites the sledge the anvil's block,
His blade smote the foe;
He was a tower, a human rock
Was mighty Owen Roe!

Woe to us! Guilt and wrong
Triumph; while, to our grief,
We raise the keen—the funeral song—
Above our fallen chief.
The proud usurper sways with power
He rules in state and show:
While we lament our fallen tower,
Our leader, Owen Roe—
While we, like slaves, bow down and cower
And weep for Owen Roe!

But the high will of heaven
Be fulfilled evermore!
What though it leaveth us bereaven,
And stricken to the core.
Amid our groans, amid our tears,
We still feel and know,
That we shall meet in after years
The sainted Owen Roe—
In after years, in brighter spheres,
The glorious Owen Roe!

Eight months after Owen's death, his son Henry, who had married the daughter of sir Luke Fitzgerald, was made prisoner by sir Charles Coote on the field of

Schear-Saullis, near Letterkenny, and committed to abide the sentence of a court-martial in Londonderry. Notwithstanding the promise of quarter, and his Spanish birth, all which he pleaded energetically,* Coote caused him and many of his kindred to be executed in cold blood. "Such," says the anonymous author, "was the unchristian and tigerish conduct of this human bloodsucker, that the family of O'Neill in the ebb of many years may never recover their former state." Bryan, Con, and John,† sons of Owen Roe, escaped to the Continent, but when or where they died we have not been able to ascertain. Rosa, widow of the victor of Benburb, survived him many years, and was interred in the grave of the murdered Bernard, in the Franciscan convent of Louvain.‡ Her epitaph, still extant, tells a pathetic story.

D . O . M .
EXCELLENTISSIMA . DOMINA . ROSA . O'DOGHARTY .
DYNASTARUM . INISONIÆ . FILIA . ET . SOROR .
ALTI . SANGUINIS . DECUS .
MORUM . TEMPERANTIA . ET . SPLENDIDIS . CONJUGIIS . AUXIT .
PRIMUM . NUPTA . INCLYTO . HEROI .
D . CAFFARRO . O'DONNELLO .
TIRCONALLIÆ . PRINCIPIS . GERMANO .
DEIN . EXCELLENTISSIMO . DOMINO . EUGENIO . O'NEILLO .
CATHOLICI . IN . ULTONIA . EXERCITUS .
ARCHISTRATEGO .
UTRAMQUE . FORTUNAM . EXPERTA . ET . MISERIAM . RATA .
CŒLUM . STUDUIT . BENEFACTIS . MERERI .
SEPTUAGINTA . MAJOR . DENATA .
BRUXELLIS . I . NOVEMBRIS . ANNO . MDCLX .
SUO . CUM . PRIMOGENITO . HUGONE . O'DONNELLO .
PRÆSTOLATUR . HIC . CARNIS . RESURRECTIONEM .

* July, 1650.
† He was a priest.
‡ It now belongs to the Freres de Charité.

With these very inadequate notices of the sons of the prince of Tyrone, the O'Donels and the children of Owen Roe, we take leave of the subject, hoping that some competent hand will one day investigate their history more fully, and tell us how it fared with their descendants.

In conclusion, the author would fain atone for an erroneous statement to which he unintentionally gave currency some years ago, touching the restoration of the tombs of the Irish nobles in the church of Montorio. He was then told that an Irish gentleman, since deceased, caused the epitaphs to be renewed, and the precious inlayings, which were much worn, to be replaced at his sole cost. Such, however, was not the fact; for although the gentleman alluded to assisted in the patriotic work, the real restorer was Mr. James Molyneux Caulfield, now lord Charlemont—a descendant, in the maternal line, from the O'Donels of Tyrconnel—who defrayed more than one-half of the entire cost of the restorations in 1843.

Five years afterwards, a member of a religious community in this city visited Montorio, and found the workmen, employed to repair the damage which the church had sustained during the late siege, about to saw the tombs into flags, for flooring the sacred edifice. Seeing this, he represented the matter to the proper authorities, who at once commanded that the historic stones should be again laid down in the exact sites from which they had been removed. To this fortunate circumstance we are now indebted for the existence of the tombs of the earls; and surely the Irish pilgrim kneeling there, when he remembers the fact, will bless the generous aspiration that thus preserved to us such venerable fragments of our history, "graven with a pen of

iron in flintstone," and to be read by the pale light of the solitary lamp that burns before the sanctuary. Heaven grant that these hallowed monuments may never again be disturbed, till the Archangel's trumpet breaks the sleep of the dead!

APPENDIX.

Preface, Page i.

The following are the epitaphs on the tombs of the baron of Dungannon and the O'Donels. That of O'Neill, given in page 446, is not visible now; but there can be no doubt that the flag-stone has been reversed in repairing the pavement of the church. Some patriotic Irishman, it is hoped, will have it replaced. The exuviæ of the Irish princes were seen by one of the Franciscans, who represented the fact to father Maurizio Caldani during the restorations of 1848.

D . O . M

RODERCIO . PRINCIPI . ODONELLIO
COMITI . TIRCONALLIÆ . IN . HIBERNIA
QUI . PRO . RELIGIONE . CATHOLICA
GRAVISSIMIS . DEFUNCTUS . PERICULIS
IN . SAGO . PARITER . ET . IN . TOGA
CONSTANTISSIMUS . CULTOR . ET . DEFENSOR
APOSTOLICÆ . ROMANÆ . FIDEI
PRO . QUA . TUENDA . ET . CONSERVANDA . E . PATRIA
PROFUGUS .
LUSTRATIS . IN . ITALIA . GALLIA . BELGIO
PRÆCIPUIS . SANCTORUM . MONUMENTIS
ATQUE . IBIDEM . PRINCIPUM . CHRISTIANORUM
SINGULARI . AMORE . ET . HONORE
SANCTISS . ETIAM . P . AC . D . PAULI . PP . V
PATERNO . AFFECTU . SUSCEPTUS

IN . MAXIMIS . CATHOLICORUM . VOTIS . DE . FELICI
EJUS . REDITU
SUMMUM . DOLOREM . ATTULIT . SUIS
ET . MŒROREM . OMNIBUS . IN . HAC . URBE . ORDINIBUS
IMMATURA . MORTE . QUAM . OBIIT . III . KALENDAS . SEXTILES
ANNO . SALUTIS . MDCVIII . ÆTATIS . SUÆ . XXXIII
QUEM . MOX . SECUTUS . EODEM . TRAMITE
UT . EADEM . CUM . EO . BEATITATE . FRUERETUR
CALFURNIUS . FRATER
PERICULORUM . ET . EXILII . SOCIUS
IN . SUMMA . SPE . ET . EXPECTATIONE . BONORUM
DE . EJUS . NOBILITATE . ANIMI
QUAM . VIRTUS . ET . OPTIMA . INDOLES . EXORNAVIT
SUI . RELIQUIT . DESIDERIUM . ET . MÆSTITIAM . COEXULIBUS
XVIII . KAL . OCT . PROXIMÆ . SEQUENTIS
ANNO . ÆTATIS . XXV
UTRUMQUE . ANTECESSIT . ÆTATE . ET . FATI . ORDINE
FRATER . PRIMOGENITUS
HUGO . PRINCEPS
QUEM . PIE . ET . CATHOLICE . PRO . FIDE . ET . PATRIA
COGITANTEM
PHILIPPUS . III . HISPANIARUM . REX
ET . VIVUM . BENEVOLE . AMPLEXUS . ET . IN . VIRIDI . ÆTATE
MORTUUM . HONORIFICE . FUNERANDUM . CURAVIT
VALLISOLETI . IN . HISPANIA . IIII . IDUS . SEPTEMBRIS
A . S . MDCII

D . O . M

HUGONI . BARONI . DE . DONGANAN
HUGONIS . MAGNI . O'NEILL . PRINCIPIS
ET . COMITIS . TIRONIÆ . PRIMOGENITO
PATREM . ET . RODERICUM . COMITEM
TIRCONALLIÆ . AVUNCULUM . PRO
FIDE . CATHOLICA . QUAM . MULTOS . ANNOS
CONTRA . HÆRETICOS . IN . HIBERNIA
FORTITER . DEFENDERANT . RELICTIS
STATIBUS . SUIS . SPONTE . EXULANTES . AD
COMMUNEM . CATHOLICORUM . ASYLUM . URBEM
ROMAM . PRO . SUA . SINGULARI . IN . DEUM . ET

PARENTES . PIETATE . SECUTO . CUJUS
IMMATURA . MORS . SPEM . DE . EO
RESTAURANDÆ . ALIQUANDO . IN . ILLIS
PARTIBUS . CATHOLICÆ . RELIGIONIS . OB
EJUS . INSIGNES . ANIMI . ET . CORPORIS . DOTES
AB . OMNIBUS . CONCEPTAM . ABSTULIT . AC
DICTO . RODERICO . AVUNCULO . FATO . SIMILI
ABSUMPTO . CONJUNXIT
OCCIDIT . TAM . SUIS . QUAM . TOTÆ . CURIÆ
FLEBILIS . NONO . KAL . OCT . MDCIX
ÆTATIS . SUÆ . XXIV

Page 2.

THE BURIAL OF RED HUGH O'DONEL.

In 1848 the author suggested the subject of this poem to Mangan, who wrote it in the village of Rathfarnham. It was published in the *Catholic Magazine* in the above year, when Mr. James Duffy offered Mangan a handsome salary, on condition that he abandoned the one unfortunate propensity which ultimately helped to kill him. Mangan declined the proposal, choosing rather to lead the "vivid life to and fro," and died in 1849.

I.

The dark day of Kinsale was over,
And Ireland lay again in thrall:
No hope seemed left her to recover
From this her fatal, final fall.
Her goal was lost, her strength departed;
The Saxon hosts had scattered far
Those bright prestiges her High-hearted
Had shed around her arms in war.
Her glory bode a burnt-out star,
A voice of wailing and lamenting,
A cry of late and vain repenting
Rose from the centre to the sea,

Throughout the once-glad, songful isle;
And ruffian Force and treacherous Wile
Rode rampant o'er the Brave and Free.
A Night without a Morrow,
An ever-wounding Sorrow,
A death-trance that might borrow
No ray from Hope to gild its gloom,
A wild, vague thirst unsated,
For vengeance on the Hated—
A bondage fixed and fated,
Such seemed the trampled Nation's doom!

II.

And He, the Chieftain of the North,
The Red O'Donel,
Who led her banded legions forth,
In green Tyrconnel,
O'er fortressed height and battle-plain,
So many a day to Death or Danger,
He, tended by the hireling stranger,
He droops—he sinks—he dies in pain—
He breathes his last in far-off Spain,
Alone, alas! in far-off Spain!
Mourn ye the Brave!
Mourn him with tears,
He goes down to his grave
In his youth, in his bloom!
On Iberia's dusk shore,
In the flower of his years,
Is his life's lamp outquenched;
It bides dark evermore
In the gloom of the tomb!
He who never once blenched
Before falchions or foemen
Lies low, like a tree
Laid in ashes by lightning.
Alas! for the omen,
Sad Erin, to thee,
When thy fate appeared brightening!
Mourn we the Brave!
Mourn him with tears!
For he goes to his grave
In the flower of his years!

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III.

Behold yon pile, that rises lone
Within Zimancas' cloistered walls,
On whose dark arabesques of stone
Scarce even the noon-day sunbeam falls—
An ancient fabric! reared, I ween,
What time the Moors were here the masters,
As telleth well the sombre sheen
Of its carved arches and pilasters.
We enter, passing court by court,
And long-deserted hall and fort,
And blank alcoves and corridors,
And rooms whose tesselated floors
And faded sandal-roofs appear
To shadow forth, in many a token,
The gloom and splendour blended here
Before the Arab arm was broken.
Now, up yonder winding stairs,
Which Time day by day impairs,
We wearily clamber,
And lo! a long chamber,
Dim-lighted and cold,
Like a King's mausoléum of old;
Therein sleeps the boldest of Erin's best Bold!
There sleepeth, laid low
Not by musquet or spear in
The field, but by Sickness and Woe,
The last Prince that may battle for Erin!
The winds, as in pity, sweep sighing
Around the pale-canopied bed
Where the corpse of the Hero is lying;
One brief hour ago
They wailed o'er the Dying,
They now pour their dirge for the Dead!
Two tall figures kneel beside him,
These received his parting breath;
These alone stood by to guide him
Through the Gates of Death.
Their sacred robes, their prayerful mien,
At once reveal those holy priests,

At home, abroad, far oftener seen
  At poor men's graves than rich men's feasts.
Oh! blest and honoured be the names
  Of O'Mulconry and Dunleavy;
Who, though themselves of worn-out frames,
Yet, when the thought of Erin's woes
  And future fate lay dark and heavy,
On their Prince's bleeding bosom,
Nobly cheered him to the close
  Of this his bitterest hour of hours!
May their memories ever blossom,
  Fresh and bright in Time's meridian bowers!

IV.

The moon is dawning, the West is darkening;
  A sighing sound haunts the bodeful air;
The forest-pines appear hushed, and hearkening,
  Like living forms, for the Vesper prayer.
Their leaves are sparkling, but not in gladness—
  Who readeth well what their sheen bespeaks,
Will deem those pearly-pale dews of sadness
  Most like the tear-drops on weepers' cheeks.
The knelling fall of the Douro's waters
  Floats down the dells like the saddest song,
As though the flood's fabled Fairy Daughters
  Bewailed some victim or deed of Wrong.
And, as the gold of the sunset slowly
  Decays and darkens, till all hath fled,
Those tones appear to unite in holy
  And choral swell for the Lost or Dead.
Is this illusion?—a poet's dreaming?
  An airy legend from Peristân?*
Or are the Thoughtful more wise in deeming
  That Nature sometimes may mourn with Man?

V.

"What, ho! my lords and lieges all!
  I call a Golden Revel!"

* Fairy-land.

The King commands; the trumpets peal;
And all ranks known in Old Castile
Meet in the royal palace-hall—
Meet on one joyous level!
And Pleasure takes the reins from Power,
And Mirth unbounded rules the hour!

The festival—the song—the dance—
The brilliant lights and gay attire
Recalled those days of Old Romance,
And gallant knightly Chivalrie,
Even then but known through lay or lyre;
A goodly sight it was to see!
Here, some illustrious Caballero
Bent low before an aguadara;*
And there, a noteless calesero†
Led out the blood of Alcantara;
While many Hidalgos, who, for years,
Had proudly stood aloof and single,
Almost from even their very peers,
Cast off their state, and stooped to mingle
With all who thronged around—unasked.
And, what though every face was masqued?
Condemn not this! for men have made
Of life a darker Masquerade,
Where nought is genuine more—save Guile.
His wrinkles mock the Conqueror's wreath;
And, where the false lips fain would smile,
The veiled heart often bleeds beneath.
Enough!—but if thou wilt win pleasure
From pondering how the things that seem
The stablest—Beauty, Pomp, and Treasure—
May vanish like a morning dream,
Or turn to dolorous memories after;
If thou wilt fondly mark how soon
Sighs may resound where late rang Laughter,
Glance round thee through this wide saloon—
The lights are quenched, the guests are gone,
A few stray menials glide alone,

* Female water-carrier. † Itinerant merchant.

Like spectres, o'er the matted floor.
It is the gloomiest hall in Spain,
For always tenfold Woe must reign
Where Gaiety was King before!

VI.

And wherefore such a change? Oh, Spain, unto thee
Be the tribute of those tears, that fill mine eyes unbid!
Thy Sovereign sought to make my country great and free!

The gay lamps are darkened, and the wine-cups are hid,
Because the cold corpse of the young Irish chief,
The Red Hugh O'Donel, is in Valladolid!

Yes! He whose career was so bright, but so brief,
He lieth on his bier in the palace-chapel aisle;
And Spain shares the glory and the gloom of Erin's grief!

Yet a few fleeting hours, and a train shall defile
From hence through the city to the Place of the Dead,
Such as never until now left this venerable pile!

O Philip, king of Spain, be blessings on thy head!
Thou honoredst O'Donel for his nobleness and worth:
Thou lovest, too, the land for whose weal he fought and bled!

But this thou guessest not—that the House that gave him birth
Is matchless even in Spain for its ancientness of line—
Perchance is truly royaller than any on the earth!

Yet, though thou givest him a tomb—thou yieldest him a shrine
Among the highest lords—the magnates of thy land!
The greater meed of praise, O King, is therefore thine!

VII.

Hark! the Cathedral bell!
One deep knoll,
And no more!
How it thrills through the core
Of the heart and the soul,
That knell!
Hark! yet another and deeper knoll!

A long hour hath passed
Since the last.
Now torch-lights are flitting to and fro
Around the high palace-wall,
And a Hearse, with coffin and pall,
Standeth anear in plumèd woe.
Another hour—and a final knoll!
For the night weareth late.
The signal is given and obeyed,
And slowly the Funeral Cavalcade
Moves from the chapel-gate
On the way to its last dark goal!

VIII.

The Bannermen lead the van,
Their black flags flapping high in the wind—
Singly they move, man after man;
After them pass
The Guards and Senórs of the Bascalier class,
Two and two, in a long, long train behind;
The Torch-bearers march afoot by their side;
The chief Caballeros ride
On crape-covered steeds in front of the Hearse,
With its coffin and pall,
The Serge-bearers march afoot by their side.
In silence march all—
No sound ariseth to pierce
The ear of Night, save the moanful toll
Of the far Esgueva;
And so they wind through the Puerta del Sól.*
The Bannermen lead the van,
Their black flags flapping again and again;
Singly they ride, man after man.
Behind them appears
The line of the Guardsmen and Bass-cavaliers,
Two and two, in a long, long sable train—
The Torch-bearers march on foot by their side,
The King and his Nobles ride

* Gate of the Sun.

In the rear of the Hearse :—and hark ! anon
A slow musical strain,
Funereal and sad, resounds from the wide
Ravines* to the plain,
And the notes fall, one after one,
Off the muffled drum, and blend with the swell
Of the rolling Esgueva,
Till the Cavalcade winds through the Puert' d' Isabel.†
The Bannermen ride in the van ;
Then follow the Guards, Knights, Nobles, and King ;
Slowly move all, as when they began.
The mists of the night
Dull the red glare of the torches' light ;
And the Hearse, with its plumes of black heron-wing,
And its formless look in the dusk, damp air,
Seemeth like an Embodied Despair !
While the horn and the bass-bugle mingle their tones
In funereal strains,
That sound like the wailings of Dolorous Prayer
From a soul in her pains,
And seem sadder at whiles from the groans
Of the muffled drum, and the mournful flow
Of the rolling Esgueva,
As the Cavalcade winds through the Portal of Woe ! ‡

IX.

But lo ! the Gate, with its Gothic arch,
The Convent, with its mitred wall !
The lurid rays of the torches fall
Aslant on Saint Francis' Convent-wall.
Enough ! here halts the processional March.

X.

With measured and solemn tread,
The buriers all, the King the while
Advancing at their head,
Move to the end of the lamp-lighted aisle,

* The city of Valladolid lies in a hollow, and is surrounded by cliffs.
† Isabella, the queen of Ferdinand the Victorious.
‡ *Puerta de la Pena*, the Gate of Sorrow, or Punishment.

And there lay down their Dead.
The Mass is chanted for the Dead,
Before the altar of the LORD!
The Brethren of Saint Francis raise
Aloft,
With one accord,
The voice of prayer, the hymn of praise,
To Him, the All-wise GOD and LORD,
The only Ever-blest,
Who oft
Works out by chastening and mysterious ways
Salvation for the souls he loveth best!
And, as the midnight bell tolls forth its warning
That Night is nearing Morning,
The corpse is lowered into its bed of rest.

XI.

It is done! All is over!
The too fond-hearted lover
Of his Motherland is lying in his crypt of marble stone.
May a blessèd resurrection
Be the meed of that affection
That burned in his bosom for Her, and Her alone!
Many, since, have shared his doom,
Of our Noble-souled and True—
For, woe is me, the brightest of the laurels Erin gathers
Still bestow their barren bloom
But on those, who, like to HUGH,
Lay their bones far away from the valleys of their fathers!

[The following sketch of the character of the celebrated chieftain, whose death and funeral obsequies form the theme of the preceding poem, is paraphrased from the *Annals of the Four Masters*.]

Honor to Hugh of Tyrconnel! Honor to him whose valor,
Through a long decade of years, baffled Elizabeth's power—
Him to whose manly cheek no danger ever sent pallor—
Him who in troublous times was Ireland's Buckler and Tower!

Truly a Chief was He !—a wise and masterly Leader,
Skilful in Peace as in War—foremost in council and field ;
Yet, ever finding the Sword by far the most eloquent pleader
For the lost rights of his land, which the Enemy hated to yield.
Strong in his frame as the lion that roams the African forest,
Dauntless in spirit no less, in mind as in body robust ;
Well was he able to strike where the wounds to England were sorest,
And to bring down the plumes of Essex's Earl to the dust.
Kingly of aspect and air, with a voice like a resonant clarion,
Withersoever he went, he compelled submission and awe ;
Cheering the Faithful and Brave, but casting to ravens for carrion
All, as well Irish as English, who dared to defy his law.
Though as a lamb or a dove, in gentlest bearing and meekness,
Towards the Poets and Priests, and those who obeyed his commands,
His was a soul that never gave way to womanly weakness,
As the base traitors found who at times fell into his hands.
Great was the good he achieved !—making to fly like pebbles,
Under his conquering sword, the heads of the foes of his isle,
Gibbetting up rapparees, and banishing obstinate rebels,*
Raising the Worthy to honors and bringing to shame the Vile.
Deep is his image enshrined in the hearts of Erin's Afflicted,
Though it is nothing so strange that these should remember him still,
Since it is known unto all that he was the Ruler predicted,
Ages and ages before, in the verses of Saint Columbkille.†

* Rebels, of course, to his own authority.

† The passage alluded to here is the following quatrain, which is found in one of the poems of the saint :

"There shall arise a Man of might and fame,
Whose death shall be a cause of woe and tears ;
He shall be called The Pious Chief by name,
And reign as Prince for ten successive years."

Page 2.

The following statement of grievances was presented to Philip III. by O'Donel, commonly called Red Hugh, and father Florence Conry. The original of this interesting document is in the Irish College at Salamanca. We give the Spanish, with translation by the most distinguished of our living poets, D. F. MacCarthy, esq., M.R.I.A.

Un Memorial de la parte del Collegio de Salamanca que ha dado el Conde Odonel, a 22 *de Mays del año* 1602.

S. C. R. Magd.,—El Conde Odonel de Irlanda besa los pies de V. Magd. y dice que en los Reynos de V. Magd. ay algunos Collegos o Seminarios para instruir los estudiantes Irlandeses que por la persecucion de los hereges no pueden ser enseñados en la sana y Catholica doctrina, y en particular tiene V. Magd. un Collego en Salamanca, para este effecto sustentado con la limosna que V. Magd. le hace, y la que juntan los que le tienen a cargo de los prelados y Titulados de Hespaña.

En este collego preside un Religioso de la Compañia Irlandes y natural de las provincias subjectas ala Reyna y por consiguiente Sçismaticas, el qual no tiene pia afficion a los Irlandeses de Ultonia y Conaçia y Catholicos declarados y que tantos años ha que tienen las armas en defensa de la Fee: y a esta causa no quiere recibir los estudiantes de aquellas provincias, siendo verdad que estos mas que otros delrian ser sustendados de las limosnas de los fieles, lo uno por ser verdaderos Catholicos y basallos de la iglesia y de V. Magd., por lo qual se espora haran mas fructo que los que se han criado con tan mala leche como la obediencia de la Reyna y entrañable armor a sus cosas, y fuera del gremio de la iglesia, que es fuerça que volviendo entre los suyos se haed de dexar llevar de la corriente, y hace mucho mas daño que sino huvieran estudiado. Por que estos enseñan que se puede obedecar ala Reyna y tomar armas contra V. Magd., y a los que hacen confiesan y absuelven y admetten alas missas y divinos officios.

Mas estos estudiantes son communmente hijos de mercaderes ricos que podrian a costa de sus padres estudiar, y sino fuese

para ahorrar la costa imbiarian a Ingalaterra al estudio como otros de los mismos haçen y dentro de Irlanda en aquellas provincias sujetas ala Reyna tienen alguna comodidad para estudiar. Pero los nuestros son Catholicissimos tienen estrañada la obediencia de la iglesia, y desde la cuna aborrecen la maldita seta de la Reyna y predican contra ella: por los guerras continuar no tienen modo ni aparato alguno para estudiar, los que vienen a Hespaña son hijos de nobles que han perdido sus haciendas por la Fee y no tienan comodidad por proveer los.

Por estas y otras raçones supplico a V. Magd. de parte de Onel y mia y que de aquellas dos provincias de V. Magd. mande que el dicho Seminario de Salamanca se reciban porlo menos la metad de los estudiantes de Ultonia y Conaçia, y para que se execute sera neçessario remoner de la administraçion el religioso que esta en ella que se llama Thomas Vitus y que se ponga Rector Hespañoe que puntualmente obedezca lo que se le ordenare, porque este padre escierto que siempre pondra excusas aparentes, y quando los reçiba por fuerça, les hara tal tratamiento que no le podran suffrir, y en esto hara V. Magd. gran servicio a nro. señor, y los verdaderos Catholicos de Irlanda grandissimo benefficio y mersed singular.

Mauricio Ultano de la tierra del Conde Odonel y Edmundo Donaldino de la tierra del Conde Onel, hijos de basallos Ricos y Honrados de los dichos, que han perdido toda su hacienda y serviendoles por no ser admittidos a ningunas casas de estudios que los Irlandeses tenian en estas partes, Piden que su Magd. leshaga md de alguna comodidad en Salamanca con que puedan estudiar, su Magd. podia remediar esta necessidad de estos honrados estudiantes y de otros muchos que vernan adar enfado a esta corte, mandando que se reciba luego estos dos estudiantes en el Seminario Irlandes de Salamanca, y sera de mucha importancia y convendria para el bien da aquel Reyno que tambien mande expressamente que se recibaro en aquel seminario en adalanto tantos de la provincia de Conaçia y Ultonia quanteo de Monia y Laxenia pues aquellas dos tienen tanta tierra como los otras, y su Magd. fundo aquel collegio no para sola una provincia sino para todo el Reyno, y para que la dicha orden se guarde inviolablemento no no basta mandarla sin que señale su Magd. una persona del consijo por defensor y proctetor de aquel seminario.

Las raçones que al p[adre] fr. Florencio le parece que ay para hacer

esta reformacion son muchas de las quales algunas auia que no dexan de causar lastima en coraçon tan Catholico como el de su Magd. y en los muy Christianos coraçones de los de sus consejos.

[TRANSLATION.]

Transcript of a Memorial in reference to the College of Salamanca, which was presented by O'Donel, on the 22d of May, in the year 1602.

To His Catholic Royal Majesty,—The conde O'Donel, of Ireland, kisses the feet of your majesty, and says that, in the kingdoms of your majesty, there are several colleges or seminaries for the instruction of Irish students, who, through the persecution of the heretics, cannot [in their own country] be instructed in the sound and Catholic doctrine; and that in particular your majesty has a college at Salamanca, which is maintained for this purpose by the charity of your majesty, added to the funds set apart for its support by the bishops and titularies of Spain.

Over this college presides a religious, a member of the Irish order of Jesuits, and a native of those provinces that are subject to the queen, and consequently schismatical, who does not entertain a pious affection for the open and avowed Irish Catholics of Ulster and Connaught, who have for so many years held arms in defence of the faith, and on this account does not wish to receive the students of those provinces; the truth being, that they more than any others ought to be sustained by the alms of the faithful, because of their having remained true Catholics and vassals of the Church and of your majesty, on which account it may be expected that they will produce better fruit than those who have been reared on such bad milk as obedience to the queen and an affectionate love for her interests, and [for persons] outside the pale of the Church; the result being, that, when they return among their own people, they will let themselves be carried with the current, and thus do much more evil than if they had not studied at all, because they teach that it is permissable to obey the queen and to take arms against your

majesty; and those that do so, they confess and absolve, and admit to Mass and the divine offices.

But those students are usually the sons of rich merchants, who could be educated at the expense of their parents, and who, if it were not to save the cost, would be sent to pursue their studies in England, like others of the same class. Even in Ireland itself, in those provinces subject to the queen, there are considerable facilities for study; but ours are Catholic of the Catholic, who cherish in their hearts obedience to the Church, and who from their cradle abhor the accursed sect of the queen, and proclaim against it. Owing to continual wars, they have no means or opportunities of study; those who come to Spain are the sons of the nobles who have lost their properties for the faith, and have no means of obtaining the advantages possessed by the others.

For these and other reasons I supplicate your majesty, on the part of O'Neill and of myself, and on behalf of those two provinces, that your majesty will command that the said seminary of Salamanca shall receive one-half of its students from Ulster and Connaught. For the carrying out of this arrangement, it will be necessary to remove from the administration of the college the religious who at present directs it, whose name is Thomas White, and to appoint a Spanish rector to preside over it, who will punctually obey the orders he shall receive, because it is certain that the father referred to will always be prepared with plausible excuses for rejecting those students; and even should he be compelled by force to receive them, he will treat them in a way that will be impossible to be endured. In thus acting, your majesty will do a great service to our Lord, and confer the greatest possible benefit and an especial favor on the true Catholics of Ireland.

Maurice Ultan, of the country of the conde O'Donel, and Edmund Donaldino, of the country of the conde O'Neill, sons of rich and honorable vassals of those lords, who have lost all their property in their service, and who, in consequence, were not admitted into any of the houses of study which the Irish have in these parts, entreat his majesty that he may be pleased to make some arrangement for their studies at Salamanca. His majesty could remedy this necessity of these honorable students, and many others who are suffering much anxiety at this court, by commanding that these two students be received forthwith

into the Irish seminary of Salamanca; and it would be of great importance, and would materially tend to the advantage of that kingdom, if it were expressly commanded that, for the future, as many students should be received into that seminary from Connaught and Ulster as from Munster and Leinster, since the two former divisions contain as much land as the two latter, and because his majesty founded that college, not for one province alone, but for the whole kingdom. And that the said order may be carried out in its integrity, it is not enough that his majesty should command it, but that he should name a member of the council to be the defender and protector of that seminary.

The reasons which seem to the padre fray Florencio to require this reformation are numerous, some of which cannot fail to move the compassion of a heart so Catholic as that of his majesty, as well as of the very Christian hearts of the members of his council.

PAGE 27.

For valuable notices of this apostate bishop of Down, and queen Elizabeth's archbishop of Cashel, see Ware's "Bishops," the Rev. Dr. M. Brady's "Alleged Conversion of the Irish Bishops," and Duffy's Hib. Magazine. The subjoined letters throw strong light on Miller's character, and show that O'Neill was hopeful of his conversion, even at the very moment when the pseudo-archbishop was, as usual, playing the hypocrite. It is worthy of remark, that O'Neill would not suffer him to be tried by a secular tribunal without licence from the Holy See.

A Letter from Tyrone to Con O'Neill, concerning the archbishop of Cashel.*

Commendations to you, Con O'Neill,—We received your letters concerning Meillmorre MacGragh, the archbishop of Cashel.

* Son to Cormac MacBaron, and nephew to earl Hugh. It appears that there was an indenture of covenants between Con O'Neill

We also saw the bishop's letter in like sort complaining of your saying he came to you upon your promise and the safe-conduct of part of your people. To which we answer, that our pleasure is the bishop be enlarged without delay, and withal Richard Power and the bishop's sons; and that all others that have been apprehended in his company be enlarged, and to deliver the bishop his house of Ballymaky,* upon his hands. And if you think that the bishop or they came unto you without word or assurance whereby you might hold them prisoners, you may understand that the bishop would not come unto you unless he had his trust that you would not hurt him; and howsoever desirous your people are to get him again, hazard not you your own scandal or reputation for any benefit, seeing that a safe-conduct is not more to respected to any man of worth than when he cometh of himself in trust or hope of your well-meaning or truth towards him. Therefore, set you the bishop, Richard Power, and the bishop's sons at liberty, and demand no ransom for the bishop or any of them. And let the bishop chose afterwards whether he come hither or stay there; but whether of both, enlarge him and the rest.†

Tyrone's Letter to Con O'Neil, 29th March, 1599, in the behalf of the archbishop of Cashel.

Our commendations to you, Con O'Neill,—And as it seemeth to me you take an unwise, indiscreet course with the lord archbishop, by the counsel of light, unskilful people, that so biddeth you for many causes. For, first, there is none this side the pope, unless himself allow us to apprehend him, hath authority to lay hands on his person, nor any other priest ever, without the Church themselves do it, or a holy Bull, that a priest should oil with burning,‡ and then to make him of the temporality openly;

and the archbishop of Cashel, in which is stated as follows: "To receive £500, two silver cups to O'Neill's son, and to get £50 thereof in broadcloth, kersey, and in green or blue mantles."

* In parish and barony of Clogher.

† Lambeth, Carew Collection, MS. 632, p. 186 b.

‡ That is, should be received with reverence. "Oil of joy," etc.,

and he was not so used. But if the covetousness of this world caused him to remain on this way that he is upon, how did his correcting touch you? Withal, I have the witness of my own priest upon him that he promised to return from that way, saving only that he could not but take order for his children first, seeing he got them, and also that he is friend and ally unto us. And as it seemeth unto me you should rather follow the bishop's own advice than the counsel of many his enemies there that counsel against him; therefore, for every of those causes, the longer you detain him, he shall part from you against your will at last. Upon which considerations I bid you to enlarge the archbishop without delay, and to let him have his houses and manors without spoil, for you were to blame to put his castles into his enemies' hands hitherto. And I bid you set Richard Power at liberty also, taking no man's counsel for his hurting. You are to blame for the seldom news you send us from thence, for you wrong in not sending weekly hither from you. We saw not the greyhound you sent yet, which see sent with speed; and send your man speedily hither with your answer upon this letter, and with all news you may from them quarters.*

PAGE 31.

Cardinal Cintio, the friend and patron of Torquato Tasso, regrets, as appears by his letter, that he could not come to Ireland to the aid of O'Neill, in whose cause he tells him he was willing to lose his life.

Illustrissimo et Excellentissimo Dño Ugoni principi Nælo, Exercitûs Catholici in Hibernià Duci, et Capitaneo-Generali.

Illustrissime Excellentissime Princeps,—Quam illustris ad nos

"oil of gladness," are expressions frequently occurring in Holy Scripture.

* Lambeth, Carew Collection, MS. 632, p. 185 b.

pietatis, fortitudinisque vestræ fama pervaserit, vel ex illo brevi apostolico, quod cum hisce litteris exit, facile intelliget Excellentia vestra; cujus utique gloriæ ego precipue faveo, eamque omni prædicatione majorem duco. Etenim si quæcumque pro patria suscipitur dimicatio summis laudibus, et merito quidem efferri solet; quibus tandem premiis satis digne celebrari poterit illa virtus, animique celsitudo, quæ tota occupatur in asserenda propagandaque vera religione; quo uno fundamento et solida omnis dignitas, et publica privataque salus nititur? Quod Excellentia vestra maximis rebus suis gestis tam præclara hominum judicia sit promerita hoc quidem nomine ei magnopere gratulor: sed eo etiam magis quod pia istæc arma vestra præsentis numinis ope, ac patrocinio firmari, illustribus documentis sæpe jam fuerit comprobatum. Nam quod Excellentia vestra tam feliciter impias furentium hæreticorum acies non semel fuderit, fugaritque, in eo divinam virtutem simul, et ultionem elucere maxime nemo sanus negaverit. Hac certa spe niti profecto debet Excellentia vestra: Hac eadem debent se suosque labores sustentare cæteri omnes illi fortissimi viri qui, sacro fœdere conjuncti, et victricia Excellentiæ vestræ signa secuti, in iisdem castris gloriose etiam nunc militant, ipso Duce et auspice Christo; qui nusquam suæ causæ deerit nusquam veræ fidei sinceros propugnatores destituet. Utinam et mihi quoque liceret in istius gloriæ, ac meriti vestri societatem venire: quam libenter una vobiscum hinc tam piæ, justæque causæ sanguinem et vitam ipsam præsens impenderem: sed quando id negatur; sane hæc mea oratio ab imo pectore deprompta eò spectat, ut postquam ex ea cognoverit Excellentia vestra, quam, egregie sim erga vos, partesque vestras animatus; ipsa vicissim in animum inducat fidenter opera mea uti, ubicumque ea sibi, suisve utilem fore judicaverit. Omnimode sibi persuadeat velim, mihi quæcunque mandanda, vel quovis nutu significanda duxerit, summæ semper curæ fore; neque omni studio atque dilligentia promoturum quiquid deinceps negotii sibi cum sanctissimo Domino nostro intercesserit; daturum denique operam, ut factis, atque reipsa Excellentia vestra innotescat, me in ea amanda, observandaque nemini eorum concedere, quos habet sui studiosissimos. Porro nobis rem gratissimam præstiterit, si crebro nos de prospero rerum vestrarum statu fecerit certiores: idque ne gravetur facere, quoties ejus rei se dabit occasio, eam vehementer rogo: Deumque precor ut preclara Excellentiæ vestræ consilia, atque

actiones omnes ad optatum exitum perducat; eamque Catholicæ religionis bono quam diutissime incolumem tueatur.

Romæ, Jan. 20, 1601.

Excellentiæ vestræ paratissimus ad inserviendum,

CYNTHIUS, CARD. S. SERGII.*

PAGE 56.

PROCLAMATION FOR DISARMINGE OF KEARNES.

By the lord deputie and councell.

AITHUR CHICHESTER.

Whereas the late lord deputie and councell, understandinge that many idle kearne, loose and mainsterless men, and other disordered persons, did raunge up and downe in sundrie partes of this kingdome, being armed with *swordes*, *targetts*, *pikes*, *shot*, *headpieces*, *horsemen-staves*, and other warlike weapons, to the great terror of his majestie's well disposed subjects, upon whome they have committed many extortions, murthers, robberies, and other outrages, caused divers proclamations to be set forth and published in his majestie's name, charging and commanding thereby that no person or persons, of what condition or degree soever, travelling or passing from place to place on horsebacke within this kingdome, should from henceforth persume to weare or carrie anie armes *more than one sword, or rapier and dagger;* and that no person or persons travelling on foote should weare or carrie anie armes or weapons whatsoever (*except the* officers and soldiers of such and so manie companies of horse and foote, and other his majestie's servitors, as did then or should afterwards receive his majestie's entertainment), upon payne of imprisonment during the pleasure of the said lord deputie, and that their armes should be sezed upon to his majestie's use.

By virtue whereof, whether through the negligence of the officers that should see the same performed and duly executed,

* Lambeth Library, MS. 577, pages 86 and 87.

or by what means ells wee knowe not, litle or nothing have been done, to the great annoyance and oppression of his majestie's good and lawful subjects, and no lesse hinderance to his highness' service. And for as much as there is now a general quietnes throughout this whole kingdome (for which God be praised and encrease the same), and that there is little or no occasion for horsemen or footmen of the condition aforesaide to go armed in so peaceable a time, we have therefore thought good to revive the said proclamation so formerlie published, with some further additions meete and expedient to be inserted therein, and therefore do, by the tenour hereof, *straightly charge* and command all governers, commanders of towns, forts, or garrisons, high-sheriffs, provost-marshells, officers, of companies, constables, and other his majestie's ministers, to whom it may appertaine, within their several jurisdictions or limits, of their charge to be careful, that if after twentie dayes next after publications hereof, they shall finde anie manner of person or persons travailinge with armor or weapon aforesaide, or with *long skeanes*, to apprehend and commytt them to prison, there to remaine without baile or mainprise during the space of fyve dayes, and also to *seize upon such* arms and weapons as shall be carried with them or found upon them; and that a returne of such armes as shall be taken awaie be made to the governor of the countries or fortes next adjoininge everie *two or three months*, and the armes so brought to be put into the king's store, the officer for honest executing his dutie to have the one moietie of their value in money, to be paid by the paymaster resident or treasurer of the kingdome, upon certificate of the said governor or commander of their value, and the like certificate from the officer of the ordnance for the receipt of them into his office; and any man whatsoever taking or seizing the armes by virtue of this proclamation, and keeping them or converting them to their own uses, to be punished with fine and imprisonment during the lord deputie's pleasure. Alwaies provided that it shall be lawfull for the *gentlemen* of the English pale, with their ordinarie and household servants, and merchants that have occasion to follow their trade, and such others as are known householders within the same, lords or principel gentlemen, well disposed and of good fame, in and upon the borders, or such other good and loyal subjects in the provinces and remote partes, as the chief governor or other commander

there shall allowe of by writing, to weare and carrie necessarie armes. Straightlie charging and commanding all governors, commanders, mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, all captaynes and officers of companies, provost-marshells, constables, and all others his majestie's officers and ministers, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to see the contents of this proclamation put in due execution, according to the true meaning and effect thereof in all points, as they tender the advancement of his majestie's pleasure, and will answere the contrarie at their perils.

Given at Dublin, the 20th of Feburary, 1864.

Adam Dublin, C.	George Bouchier.
Thomas Midensis,	Henry Harrington,
Richard Wingfield.	Frauncis Stafford.
James Ley.	Oliver Lambert.
Edmund Pelham.	Geff. Fenton.
Anthonie Sentleger.	Richard Cooke.

Page 114.

THE SHIP IN WHICH THE EARLS SAILED.

Although enough has been said in the text regarding the vessel that carried off O'Neill and O'Donel, we have thought it well to subjoin the following "Information," which throws additional light on some of the parties concerned in the transaction:—

The Information of James Bath, of Drogheda, in Ireland, aged twenty-five years or thereabouts, brother of captain John Bath, captain of the ship of four score tons furnished with sixteen cast pieces of ordnance and three score soldiers, which MacGwyer carried from Dunkirk into Ireland for Tyrone.

Father Florence, of M'Dermott's country, in the province of Connaught, in Ireland, aged forty-three years or thereabouts, provincial of the Franciscan order of friars for the Irish nation, and the chief man by whom the state of Spain do receive information, and from whom that state is pleased chiefly to take advice for the direction of the Irish affairs, came from

Spain to Brussels, in the Low Countries, about Christmas last, accompanied with David and Richard Bourke, being brothers of M'William's house in Connaught, who have four score crowns pension a month a piece from the king of Spain, and with Mathew Tully, who hath fifty crowns a month pension from the king of Spain, being secretary to the earl of Tyrconnel, who went with MacGwyer in the said ship into Ireland.

This Mathew Tully went about Christmas was twelve months into Spain, and had great favor and access to the marquis de Caracena, viceroy, and captain-general of Gallicia; and the said Mathew Tully reported in Spain that he was driven to run away out of England in great danger from the earl of Salisbury; and soon after his arrival in Spain, he went with the said marquis' letters of favor to the court of Spain, where he was formerly with O'Donel, who died there, and had twenty-five crowns a month pension then given unto him, and the arrerages thereof, being £180, was paid unto him upon his going to the court of Spain, the last winter was twelve months.

The said father Florence hath access to the archduke, who, together with the said Bourke, are yet resident at Brussels.

Rorie Albanagh, of the country of Tyrone, priest, and steward to Henry O'Neil, Tyrone's second son, colonel of the Irish regiment under the archduke, went from the Low Countries into Ireland about Easter last, and is returned into the Low Countries about a month ago.

Nicholas Linch, of Galway, in Ireland, servant to Tyrconnel who served O'Donel that died in Spain, went from the Low Countries into Ireland about ten weeks past, and is returned back again into the Low Countries.

The said father Florence, Rorie Albanagh, Matthew Tully, and Nicholas Linch, were conversant and very great with the said Henry O'Niell, Tyrone's son, and were the instruments used in the plot of Tyrone and Tyrconnel going out of Ireland.

Another letter of the same date states that Cuconnaught Maguire was able to disguise himself so that his nearest friends would have found it difficult to identify him; one time dressing as a "marine," and occasionally appearing in the harness of a soldier of the archduke's army.

Page 119.

THE MACSWINES.

The gifted author of the "Monks of Kilcrea" sent me the following notices of the MacSwiney tribe in 1865; and as it is not likely that any change has come over the descendants of the once potent feudatories of the O'Donels since then, I insert my respected friend's letter, which, I presume, will be read with great interest, as it also relates to the family of the Hartes of Doe Castle.

There are several branches of the MacSwines, anglicised to Sweeny, in the county: one at Fannid, one at Doe Castle, one at Glenveagh, and several in the Rosses.

The real MacSwines are tinkers or pipers; I know them well. The eldest of them is a piper, playing on both union and highland pipes. He understands music, and is many respects a superior man. He is married, and very steady, and goes to Scotland every year, and plays in Glasgow. *He can track back his pedigree in Irish for fourteen generations*, and told me so last year. He mostly resides at Derrylaconnell, about ten miles from Dunglow. He claims descent from the noted ravager "of the raven banner" Swaine, king of Norway: hence they are called MacSwines to this day. These, the piper's clan, are tall, spare, dark, thin men, quiet and courteous, and the girls handsome and good looking, with fine foreheads and teeth.

But in the Rosses are another clan of the MacSwines: short, thick-set, bandy-legged, with that peculiar red hair almost like the hair of a deep colored chesnut horse, with keen grey or blue eyes, thin jaws, and nose like eagles' beaks; active as kittens, and with an extraordinary rapid articulation in Irish, using much gesture when speaking, tossing their arms about when telling a story, and if a little elevated with the native, they catch you by the collar and shake you, to make you understand. These MacSweenys are passionately fond of greyhounds and terriers, fast ponies and whiskey.

The females of this red type are equally marked in character. When married into the other tribes in the Rosses, they are

always master and mistress too. They always back out their children in every mischief, and deny "*they do it*," even if they witnessed them doing it with their own eyes; and when the young imps grow up, the biggest scamp of the family is sure to be *her pet*, and if he should "beat a Peeler," or "lick some boy" of another tribe to within an inch of their lives, at some fair or row, and has to abscond to America in consequence, he becomes at once a somebody in the tribe; and if killed in the wars, as many of them have been (many of them attaining the rank of sergeant-major if they can read or write, and do not get shot at once), the tribe gather together in the Rosses, and hold a regular wake for *two* nights and *two* days, and smoke and drink, even though the deceased was buried in the trench in Richmond months ago.

The MacSwines, even to this day, would do what an Englishman could scarcely credit—*serve any one they wish well to or feel grateful to;* and, on the other side, they will go immoderate lengths to get satisfaction out of any one they hate, or fancy themselves injured by.

The MacSwines held Doe Castle (Dhuv or Black Castle) for ages. It is a lofty round tower, surrounded by high walls, on the northern coast of Donegal, at the entrance of a small bay or estuary. It is in perfect preservation, and is inhabited to the present moment. It contains several good rooms, especially a banqueting-hall, and the view from the top is grand and extensive. Up to the reign of Elizabeth, it was held by the MacSwines. After the rebellion of sir Cahir, it came into the hands of captain Harte, of Culmore, and is at the present date the property of lieutenant Harte, R.N., the lineal descendent of the governor of Culmore.

The Hartes retain the property to a great extent they got at sir Cahir's death. The present head of the family, lieutenant Harte, resides at Kilderry, near Culmore, and is considered to be worth from £1,500 to £2,000 per annum. His grandfather, general Harte, of the Indian service, lived at Doe Castle, and, of course, extraordinary stories of the *nabob* are circulated freely in the neighborhood. He was at the taking of Seringapatam, and if we can credit rumour, made a very considerable "loot" thereat.

Captain Harte, the sun and heir of general Harte, lived at Doe Castle spent money, and was very hospitable. His father

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brought with him a Hindoo soldier, it is said one of Tippoo's body-guard, who, dressed in full Asiatic costume, and armed to the teeth, slept every night on a rug outside the general's bedroom, as a sentry. On the death of the general, his son, captain Harte, succeeded him; but he was killed by falling down the stone steps leading to the banqueting-room. The castle and property then passed to lieutenant Harte, the present owner, who rented the castle to a Mr. Maddison, who died about four years ago. The present resident is the rector of the parish.

The MacSwines of Doe Castle were a fierce and lawless race, freebooters and swordsmen, with a strong dash of the pirate. Of one especially, Miles Maol Murrough, called "MacSweeny of the Staff or Club," fearful tales are told. It is stated that he used to try any of his refractory vassals in a very summary way, in the great hall of Doe Castle. Any of the condemned whom he wished to *honor*, he forthwith brained with his club; the others, unworthy of his hand, he transferred to the tender mercies of the serf tribes of "the Ferrys," who acted as Jack Ketches for him, and the offenders were forthwith hung *in gads* from the parapets of the castle. "A false Ferry" was as proverbial in Donegal as a false Furlong in the county Wexford. Another chieftain of this race, sir Hugh MacSweeny, surnamed Ruadh, from the colour of his hair, a man of gigantic stature, was quite a fashionable Irishman at the court of Elizabeth. He was the head of the Glen Veagh branch, which is now extinct. Sir Hugh never entered the holy state of matrimony, although he most undoubtedly ought to have done so, as he left a numerous race of red-haired sons behind him. In fact, the chieftains of this wild race lived in defiance of the laws of God and man, knowing no restraint and curbing no passion. According to the traditions in the Rosses, they used to come round in long galleys, full of armed men, to collect their tributes from the islands and the Rosses, and all the detestable rights of feudal proprietors.

The castle of Buy (Bevec or Yellow) was held by another branch of the MacSweenys at Baylough, on the coast near Donegal.

The huge table-topped mountain of "Muckish" is in the middle of the MacSwines' country. When off the coast fishing, if you take your bearings so as to sink Horn Head, and

Muckish rises again the horizon, it resembles the back of a porpoise or herring hog rising up to blow.

The arms of the MacSweenys differ. Some bear a salmon, with an open hand (remember, in the Welsh, "sewin" signifies a salmon); other branches used the porpoise or herring hog; and in the old graveyard of Doe Castle, there is a tomb with a common swine cut on it.

The MacSwines are generally, if left to nature, long lived; old Eman MacSwine, grandfather of the piper, lived to the age of ninety-six, and two days before his death, staggered to the door of his cabin to see the hounds pass by.

The Fannid branch, represented by the MacSwineys of Moyagh, are not in favor in the Rosses. It appears that at the time of the detestable penal laws, this branch changed their religion to preserve their property, and hence the rest of the tribe do not now recognize them.

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O'Neill's enemies frequently alleged that he had no religion, and was little less than "a barbarous lord." The following letters, however, are the best answers to such charges; for they prove that the great northern chieftain had nothing so much at heart as the preservation of the creed of his forefathers.

O'Neill to Philip III.

Cum nihil Christianæ Reipub. utilius esse poterit quam viros habere doctrina et virtute præstantes, qui verbum Dei seminarent, populum erudirent, hominum mentibus vitia radicitus evellerent, quibus (proh dolor) hoc regnum ob diuturnum bellum, laborantemque hæresim, est destitutum: quare, potentissime rex, nostræ Reipub. nihil optatius accidere poterit quam similes habere viros, quos habere non poterimus, nisi T. M. secundum tuam solitam clementiam quam erga totius Reipub. utilitatem fideique Catholicæ exaltationem. ac demum hæresis extirpationem habes, collegio nostro Duaci centum fere

studiosos continenti, solum liberalitate et clemosina aliorum viventes, stipendium aliquod assignaverit. D. O. M. tuam M. Universæ Reipub. Christianæ et nobis Hibernis diu conservet.

Datum Dungannon, ultimo Decembris, 1599.

Vestræ Majestatis fidelissimus subditus,

O'Neale.*

O'Neill to the Archduke Albert.

Cum nihil Christianæ Reipub. utilius esse poterit quam viros habere doctrina et virtute præstantes qui verbum Dei seminarent, populum erudirent, hominum mentibus vitia et peccata radicitus evellerent, quibus hoc regnum ob quotidianum bellum, laborantemque hæresim, anteacto tempore est, proh dolor, destitutum: quare, potentissime princeps, nostræ Reipub. nihil optatius accidere poterit, quam similes habere viros, quos habere non poterit, nisi vestra celsitudo, sua solita liberalitate et erga nostrates pietate, collegio nostro Duaci stipendium aliquod annuatim assignaverit. Sæpe sæpius de statu hujus belli ad celsitudinem tuam scripsi; et quomodo Anglici in dies debiliores redduntur; quomodoque cessationem ab armis cum iliis concluseram quam, tua celsitudinis gratia, revocarem; quoniam milites quos hic habuerunt Angli post cessationem hic conclusam ad Belgicum bellum mittere conabuntur. Ideo iterum arma adversus illos sumpsi. D. O. M., celsitudinem tuam totæ Christianæ Reipub. nobisque Hibernis diu incolumem conservet.

Datum Dungannon, ultimo Decembris, 1599.

Tuæ celsitudinis amicus,

O'Neale.†

A Letter which the earl of Tyrone, O'Donel, and Montford sent to Don Juan d'Aquila, intercepted and received 29th Sept., 1595, *from the hands of Piers O'Cullan.*

Quamvis antehac non potuerimus nos ita literas nostras transmittere ut ad aures vestras proveniret petitio nostra (vir illustrissime) neque tamen maris vastitas, nec terræ distantia, nec

* Lambeth, Carew Collection, MS. 632, p. 188. † *Ibid.* p. 188 b.

furor hæreticorum potuit impedire, quominus fama virtutis tuæ ad nos usque volaret. Inter cætera autem quæ de tua feruntur virtute, id nos præcipue movet, quod de tua clementia, benevolentiaque adversus nos et patriam nostram audivimus; pro qua tua humanitate ut debemus semper esse grati, sic, hoc tempore necessarium duximus orare te, ut eadem nos prosequaris donec nos inveneris ingratos, nosque in illo negotio quod per hunc latorem ad regem Catholicissimum transmissimus, adjuves; id est ut nobis pro fide Catholica decertantibus mature subveniat et opituletur: quod si fecerit, restituet nobis religionem, et sibi ipsi regnum acquiret, in quo nos et alios inveniet sibi fidelissimos subditos, terramque non inutilem, et mare satis commodum. Vale et vive memor nostri, 5 cal. Octobris, 1595.

Amici tui,

O'Neill.
Hugh O'Donel.
Franciscus Momfortius.*

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The subjoined documents show that O'Neill and his confederates, during Elizabeth's reign, would have gladly transferred their allegiance to the king of Spain, or any other Catholic monarch who would have enabled them to destroy British power in Ireland.

A Letter sent to the earl of Tyrone from the king of Spain, delivered by Alonso Cobos, which letter the earl sent to the lord deputy and council, taking captain Wm. Warren's promise and his servant's oath, who brought it, that no copy should be taken of it.

Phillipus, Dei Gratia, Aragonum, utriusque Siciliæ, Hierusalem, Portugaliæ, Navarræ, et Indiarum, Rex, etc.

Nobilis et admodum dilecte, ex literis quorundam, et sermone omnium, ad me prælatum est, quibus animi et corporis viribus,

* Lambeth, Carew Collection, MS. 617, p. 231.

Catholicam causam tucaris, adversus Anglos, qui illam prorsus extinguere nituntur. Id quam gratum Deo nostro sit, insignes, quibus es potitus, victoriæ (quæ ejus sunt donum) abundè satis testantur, a quo etiam sperandum est, quod quemadmodum fausta initia, progressus deinde prosperos hactenus assecutus es, feliciores multos exitus sis imposterum habiturus: perge igitur Deo et patriæ, quæ fide cœpisti, inservire, nomenque tuum clarum reddere, hostibus procul fugatis; nec dubites (hoc si feceris) quod a me nullum genus officii sis unquam desideraturus, quemadmodum fusius meo nomine qui literas has reddet explicabit, cui integram fidem adhibebis. Vale. Dat. Madriti, die 22 mensis Januarii, anno 1596.

PHILLIPUS R.*

The substance of the earl of Tyrone's letter to the king of Spain in anno 1597. *Translated out of Latin.*

Our humble duty to your Catholic Majesty,—We received your highness' letter by Don Roderigo de Vayen, this last March, by which letter (according to your majesty's accustomed benevolence) you did write that we should go forward in our enterprise, and that your majesty would have sent present aid for the relief of this poor afflicted country; whereupon we returned your highness' present answer by the said Don Roderigo, which we hope your majesty hath received. And now, fearing that your majesty should be let to understand, by way of policy out of England (as they are full), of any agreement passed in this country which should be a let to your highness' aid to us, we most humbly crave that your majesty do not believe any information against us, until your highness see it under our hands. Although the great offers made unto us by the queen of England, yet we will not break our oath and promise made unto your highness; and now we thought good to advertise your highness of our estate at this present. We are compassed round in such order on each side, that except God of His infinite goodness help us, we will be undone; but as yet we have given them

* Lambeth, Carew Collection, MS. 617, p. 242.

the worst. We skirmish very often, and still they have the worst. And now lately I had the killing of the sergeant-major Turner, of the queen's army, and of the lord deputy's* brother-in-law, with many others. The earl of Kildare hurt and died of his hurt. On the side that O'Donel was in, there came the governor of Connaught, sir C. Clifford, with a great army, near as great as the deputy's was, and laid siege to a castle in his country; but at length he was driven to steal away, with the loss of a nobleman,† and many officers and soldiers, and driven to leave the queen's great ordnance behind him, with all their victuals and carriage,‡ so as now we are so set to that we must humbly crave your present succor.§

Sir William Warren's declaration touching his journey to Tyrone, the third time of his going thither since the departure of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, November 13th, 1599.

On Thurday last, the 8th of this instant, I met with Tyrone at Dungannon, and told him that I was sent by the state to know why he brake the time of six weeks' cessation, formerly agreed upon at our last meeting. He answered that he brake not the cessation, in that he had given him fourteen days' warning, according to the first article of the cessation agreed upon between the lord lieutenant and him. The reasons, he said,

* Lord Borough, who was sworn lord deputy 22nd May, 1597.

† O'Brien, lord Inchiquin. He was shot at Ath-Culuain, a ford on the Erne, about half-a-mile west of Belleek. His body was recovered by Cormac O'Cleary, a monk of Assaroe (Ballyshannon), who buried it there in the church of the monastery. The Franciscans of Donegal, however, claimed it, for the lords of Inchiquin were usually buried in a church of their order, and referred the matter to the decision of O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry, and O'Boyle, bishop of Raphoe, who decreed that it should be exhumed, and interred in the monastery of Donegal. See "Annals of the Four Masters," p. 2047. Dr. O'Donovan says Inchiquin was a Protestant, but such was not the fact.

‡ For an account of O'Donel's victory in the Curlew mountains, see Mitchel's "Life of Hugh O'Neill."

§ Lambeth, Carew Collection, MS. 617, p. 90.

which moved him to break off the cessation were these: that he understood, by letters received by him from Scotland, that the lord lieutenant* was committed, and that his lordship was the only man in whom he hoped and put his trust in to deal for him. He said he would not further deal with the council here, because they had already deceived him, as by his letters written to the lord lieutenant would more at large appear to his lordship.

To agree to any further time of cessation, he said he could not in any sort, because he had already resolved upon a course for O'Donel into Connaught, and others his confederates into other parts, which so suddenly he could not call back; but he told me that I should shortly hear of him towards the borders of the pale, and there, if I had anything to say to him touching the speech to be delivered him by sir Geoffrey Fenton concerning her majesty's pleasure, I should there meet him; and he was very earnest and desirous to know what the effect of that her majesty's pleasure was, which I could not tell him, for I knew it not otherwise than I told him. I assured myself I was for his good. Whilst I was there with him, I saw a letter sent unto him out of Connaught, with this subscription; "To the Right Honorable my very good lord O'Neill, chief lieutenant of Ireland," at which I laughed; and he perceiving me to laugh, asked me at what it was. I answered, To see so strange a superscription. He then read the same, and marking it before he opened the letter. I asked to whom the devil he could be lieutenant. He answered me, Why should I not be a lieutenant as well as the earl of Ormond?

I understood, during my being there, that he had sent O'Donel, with O'Rourke and all the Connaughtmen, into that province, to the end to settle O'Connor Sligo in his country, and to make a new O'Brien, or a baron of Inchiquin, of some one of that name, to whom Tyrone had written his letters to join with O'Donel, and so to go into Thomond and spoil all that country.

In all the speeches past between him and me, he seemed to stand chiefly upon a general liberty of religion throughout the kingdom. I wished him to demand some other thing reasonable to be had from her majesty, for I told him that I thought her majesty would not more yield to that demand than she

* Devereux, earl of Essex.

would do to give her crown from her head. So after some other idle discourses, not pertinent to the matter, we parted.

WILLIAM WARREN.*

Copy of Tyrone's letter to sir William Warren, 25th December, 1599.

Seeing the conclusion of cessations is so prejudicial unto that which I pretend, henceforward I will conclude none if present redress be not done. In this last concluded between the earl of Ormond and me, there were sundry breaches by your side committed; for sir Samuel Bagenall took a prey of O'Hanlon, of which I made you acquainted; one of my men apprehended was by sir Samuel, and one of my horsemen's sons killed, and a horse of mine taken away by the said sir Samuel's men. Many other things were done contrary to the due course which in any truce should be observed, and chiefly the cessation is greatly violated by the apprehending of father Henry Fitzsimons, a man to whom (as before God I protest) I am no more beholden than to an Irish Catholic that is restrained in Turkey for his religion, but undertake generally to plant the Catholic faith throughout all Ireland. According my often protestations I must undertake, be it accepted or not, for all Irish Catholics; and do feel myself more grieved that any should be for his religion restrained in time of cessation, than if there were a thousand preys taken from me. Wherefore, as ever you think that I shall enter to conclude either peace or cessation with the state, let him be presently enlarged.

The Examination of Piers O'Cullan, of Clogher, in Tyrone, priest, taken before Robert Bowen, provost-marshal of Leinster, and Richard Cooke, secretary to the lord deputy.

Confesseth,—That having spent three years past in Spain, France, and Italy, he returned about twenty days past to Ireland, and landed near Bullock; came to Dublin, but made no stay there, and proceeded northwards to the earl of Tyrone, then at

Lambeth, Carew Collection, MS. 632, p. 184.

Magheraloghere, newly calling himself O'Neill; arrived there the 18th of September, inst. The earl directed him to go to Dungannon to Momford, where he found him, Momford, and the countess, and the next day he returned to the earl with Momford. The earl directed Momford to write to the king of Spain, to Don Carolo, and to Don John d'Aquila, which letters he had no sight of; but he was directed to proceed with them in all despatch, and solicit an answer. Being asked what moved him to go to the earl, he said that the pope had given him the parsonage of Clogher, where he was born, not far from Dungannon; but having left the Bull at St. Malo's, the earl told him he should not have the benefice until he saw the Bull. The earl was so earnest for despatch that he stayed but one night with him. Being asked what relief was required, he said 3 or 4,000 men, with money and munition, to be sent at the furthest by the beginning of May next; in the meantime they would maintain the war for the Catholic religion, and would submit themselves to be governed by him, the king of Spain, as good subjects ought, and be as loyal to him as any natural Spaniard. That two of the letters were written by Momford, and the third by a tall black man, attending upon the countess, whom he knoweth not. That Sligo being now theirs, it was the fittest place for the Spanish landing, or, if they pleased, anywhere else in Connaught or in Ulster. Being asked if he knew in the pale or in Munster of any having intelligence with Spain, he protested he knew of none, now that Lacie, of Munster, is drowned with O'Hely, the bishop of Tuam, and some others, but of one captain Caddell, who, being in Brittany, brought him to Don Carolo, who would have sent letters by examinant to the earl, but he refused to bear them, so that he thinks the said Caddell is coming with them himself to Ireland.

PETRUS CULLAN.

Drogheda, Sep. 29, 1595.

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By the lord deputy and council.

ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

Whereas Richard, lord baron of Delvin, lately apprehended and committed to the Castle of Dublin for high treason, sufficiently discovered and made manifest unto us, the lord deputy and council, being guilty in his own conscience of the said treason, hath, on Saturday night last, being the one and twentieth of this present month, by practice of some of his servants and negligence or corruption of his keeper, broke prison, and escaped out of the Castle of Dublin, which escape in itself is also high treason; whereupon we are well assured that he will withdraw himself into some place, where he conceiveth he shall be relieved and protected for a time, until he may secretly fly out of this kingdom. We do, therefore, in his majesty's name, proclaim and publish, that all and every person or persons who shall from henceforth receive, relieve, or abet him, the said lord baron of Delvin, or any of his confederates and adherents, by giving or supplying unto him or them any meat, drink, money, arms, horse, munition, or any otherwise succor or comfort whatsoever, shall be reputed and adjudged high traitors. Wherefore, we also, in his majesty's name, straightly charge and command all his majesty's loyal subjects, upon their duty of allegiance, not only to forbear to receive or relieve him, the said baron of Delvin, or any of his confederates or adherents, but also to make diligent search and inquire in what place the said baron and his confederates shall from time to time lurk or be received, and them to bring, or cause to be brought, under safe custody, unto us, for which such reward shall be given as shall be answerable to so good a cause. And we do further, in his majesty's name, publish, that none of his majesty's good and lawful subjects shall, by pretence or color of the prosecution of him, the said baron and his adherents, be any way molested, troubled, or impeached in their bodies, lands, or goods, so long as they continue in their loyalty and due obedience to his majesty and the laws of this kingdom.

Given at his majesty's Castle of Dublin, the 23rd day of November, 1607.

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LAMENT FOR THE PRINCES OF TYRONE AND TYRCONNEL.

O Woman of the Piercing Wail,
Who mournest o'er yon mound of clay
With sigh and groan,
Would God thou wert among the Gael!
Thou wouldst not then from day to day
Weep thus alone.
'Twere long before, around a grave
In green Tyrconnel, one could find
This loneliness;
Near where Beann-Boirche's banners wave,
Such grief as thine could ne'er have pined
Companionless.

Beside the wave, in Donegal,
In Antrim's glens, or fair Dromore,
Or Killillee,
Or where the sunny waters fall,
At Assaroe, near Erna's shore,
This could not be.
On Derry's plains—in rich Drumclieff—
Throughout Armagh the Great, renowned
In olden years,
No day could pass but woman's grief
Would rain upon the burial ground
Fresh floods of tears!

O, no!—from Shannon, Boyne, and Suir,
From high Dunluce's castle-walls,
From Lissadill,
Would flock alike both rich and poor.
One wail would rise from Cruachan's halls
To Tara's hill;
And some would come from Barrow-side,
And many a maid would leave her home,
On Leitrim's plains,
And by melodious Banna's tide,
And by the Mourne and Erne, to come
And swell thy strains!

O, horses' hoofs would trample down
The Mount whereon the martyr-saint*
Was crucified.
From glen and hill, from plain and town,
One loud lament, one thrilling plaint,
Would echo wide.
There would not soon be found, I ween,
One foot of ground among those bands
For museful thought,
So many shriekers of the *keen*†
Would cry aloud, and clap their hands,
All woe-distraught!

Two princes of the line of Conn
Sleep in their cells of clay beside
O'Donel Roe:
Three royal youths, alas! are gone,
Who lived for Erin's weal, but died
For Erin's woe!
Ah! could the men of Ireland read
The names these noteless burial stones
Display to view,
Their wounded hearts afresh would bleed,
Their tears gush forth again, their groans
Resound anew!

The youths whose relics moulder here
Were sprung from Hugh, high Prince and Lord
Of Aileach's lands;
Thy noble brothers, justly dear,
Thy nephew, long to be deplored
By Ulster's bands.
Theirs were not souls wherein dull Time
Could domicile Decay or house
Decrepitude!
They passed from Earth ere Manhood's prime,
Ere years had power to dim their brows
Or chill their blood.

* St. Peter. This passage is not exactly a blunder, though at first it may seem one: the poet supposes the grave itself transferred to Ireland, and he naturally includes in the transference the whole of the immediate locality around the grave.—Tr.

† *Keen*, or *Caoine*, the funeral wail.

And who can marvel o'er thy grief,
Or who can blame thy flowing tears,
That knows their source?
O'Donel, Dunnasava's chief,
Cut off amid his vernal years,
Lies here a corse,
Beside his brother Cathbar, whom
Tyrconnel of the Helmets mourns
In deep despair—
For valor, truth, and comely bloom,
For all that greatens and adorns,
A peerless pair.

O, had these twain, and he, the third,
The Lord of Mourne, O'Niall's son,
Their mate in death—
A prince in look, in deed and word—
Had these three heroes yielded on
The field their breath,
O, had they fallen on Criffan's plain,
There would not be a town or clan,
From shore to sea,
But would with shrieks bewail the Slain,
Or chant aloud the exulting *rann**
Of jubilee!

When high the shout of battle rose,
On fields where Freedom's torch still burned
Through Erin's gloom,
If one, if barely one of those
Were slain, all Ulster would have mourned
The hero's doom.
If at Athboy, where hosts of brave
Ulidian horsemen sank beneath
The shock of spears,
Young Hugh O'Neill had found a grave,
Long must the north have wept his death
With heart-wrung tears!

* Song.

If on the day of Ballachmyre,
The Lord of Mourne had met, thus young,
A warrior's fate,
In vain would such as thou desire
To mourn, alone, the champion sprung
From Niall the Great!
No marvel this—for all the Dead,
Heaped on the field, pile over pile,
At Mullach-brack,
Were scarce an *eric** for his head,
If Death hath stayed his footsteps while
On victory's track!

If on the Day of Hostages
The fruit had from the parent bough
Been rudely torn
In sight of Munster's bands—Mac-Nee's—
Such blow the blood of Conn, I trow,
Could ill have borne.
If on the day of Balloch-boy,
Some arm had laid, by foul surprise,
The Chieftain low,
Even our victorious shout of joy
Would soon give place to rueful cries
And groans of woe!

If on the day the Saxon host
Were forced to fly—a day so great
For Ashanee†—
The Chief had been untimely lost,
Our conquering troops should moderate
Their mirthful glee,
There would not lack on Lifford's day,
From Galway, from the glens of Boyle,
From Limerick's towers,
A marshalled file, a long array,
Of mourners to bedew the soil
With tears in showers!

* A compensation, or fine.

† Ballyshannon.

If on the day a sterner fate
Compelled his flight from Athenree,
His blood had flowed,
What numbers, all disconsolate,
Would come unasked, and share with thee
Affliction's load!
If Derry's crimson field had seen
His life-blood offered up, though 'twere
On Victory's shrine,
A thousand cries would swell the *keen*,
A thousand voices of despair
Would echo thine!

O, had the fierce Dalcassian swarm,
That bloody night on Fergus' banks,
But slain our Chief,
When rose his camp in wild alarm
How would the triumph of his ranks
Be dashed with grief!
How would the troops of Murbach mourn,
If on the Curlew Mountains' day,
Which England rued,
Some Saxon hand had left them lorn,
By shedding there, amid the fray,
Their Prince's blood!

Red would have been our warriors' eyes,
Had Roderick found on Sligo's field
A gory grave;
No Northern Chief would soon arise,
So sage to guide, so strong to shield,
So swift to save.
Long would Leith-Cuinn have wept, if Hugh
Had met the death he oft had dealt
Among the foe,
But, had our Roderick fallen too,
All Erin must, alas! have felt
The deadly blow!

What do I say? Ah, woe is me!
Already we bewail in vain
Their fatal fall!
And Erin, once the Great and Free,
Now vainly mourns her breakless chain,
And iron thrall!
Then, daughter of O'Donel, dry
Thine overflowing eyes, and turn
Thy heart aside,
For Adam's race is born to die,
And sternly the sepulchral urn
Mocks human pride!

Look not, nor sigh, for earthly throne,
Nor place thy trust in arm of clay,
But on thy knees
Uplift thy soul to God alone,
For all things go their destined way
As He decrees.
Embrace the faithful Crucifix,
And seek the path of pain and prayer
Thy Saviour trod;
Nor let thy spirit intermix
With earthly hope and worldly care
Its groans to God.

And Thou, O mighty Lord! whose ways
Are far above our feeble minds
To understand,
Sustain us in these doleful days,
And render light the chain that binds
Our fallen land!
Look down upon our dreary state,
And through the ages that may still
Roll sadly on,
Watch Thou o'er hapless Erin's fate,
And shield at least from darker ill
The blood of Conn!

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The following inventory of O'Neill's effects in the Castle of Dungannon, was furnished by sir T. Caulfield, when he was appointed receiver over the fugitive's estates. The entire of this curious document, published by the late Mr. Ferguson, from Memorandum Roll of the Exchequer, will be found in the "Topographer."

THEARLE OF TYRONE'S GOODS, VIZ.:

Small steers, ix at x^s	$iiii^{li}$ x^s
lx hogges, at ii^s vi^d	$viii^{li}$ x^s
Two long tables, x^s; ii long formes, v^s; an old bedstead, iii^s; an old trunk, iii^s; a long stoole, xii^d; viii hogsheads, xii^s dim.; 6^{li} hoppes, xxx^s; iii hogsheads of salt, $xxviii^s$ vi^d; all valued at	$iiii^{li}$ xii^s vi^d
A silk jackett, ...	$xiii^s$ $iiii^d$
Eight vessells of butter, conteyning iiii barrells dim., ...	$cxvii^s$ vi^d
ii iron spikes, ...	ii^s
A powdring tubbe, ...	vi^d
Two old chestes, ...	$iiii^s$
A frying pan and a driping pan, ...	iii^s
Five pewter dishes, ...	v^s
A caskett, ii^d; a comb and a comb case, $xviii^d$.	xx^d
Two dozen of trenchers and a baskett, . . .	x^d
ii 18-barr ferris, ...	vi^s
A box and two drinking glasses, ...	xv^d
A trunke, i; paire of red taffata curtens, i; other paire of greene satten curtens, ...	$iiii^{li}$ v^s
A brass kettle, ...	$viii^s$ vi^d
A payer of covyrons, ...	v^s
Two basketts, with certaine broken earthen dishes and some wast spices, ...	ii^s
Dim. pound of white and blew starche, . .	$iiii^{ob}$
A vessele with ii gallons of vineger, . . .	iii^s
xvii pewter dishes, ...	xv^s
iii glasse bottells, ...	$xviii^d$
ii stone jugges, whereof one broken, . . .	vi^d

A little iron pott, ... xviiid
A great spitt, ... xviiid
vi garrons, at xxxs a peece, ... ixll
xix stud mare, whereof two were claymed by Nicholas Weston, which were restored him by warrant, ... xxx ix
Being proved to be his owne, and so remayneth, . xvii

PAGE 300.

By the lord deputy.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God so to bless his majesty's army, in pursuit of that wicked rebel, O'Doghertie, and his adherents, as that, on Tuesday last, being the 5th of this present month of July, the said O'Doghertie was happily slain near a place called Kilmacrenan, in the county of Tyrconnel, wherein God hath not only showed His just judgment upon this treacherous creature, but doth plainly declare to this nation and to all the world, that shame and confusion is the certain and infallible end of all traitors and rebels.

We have, therefore, thought fit, not only to notify and publish the killing of the said traitor to all his majesty's good and loyal subjects, but also in regard the adherents and followers of the said O'Doghertie in his late rebellion are now broken and scattered, and are likely to put themselves and their goods under the wing and protection of such as have continued in their obedience, we do forewarn all good subjects, that none of them do presume to relieve, entertain, receive, or protect any person or persons whatsoever who have been counsellors or followers of the said O'Doghertie in his late action of rebellion, upon pain to be reputed and adjudged traitors in as high a degree as the said O'Doghertie himself or any his adherents. Notwithstanding, we do hereby promise, that whosoever shall deliver or bring in to us, the said lord deputy, or any of his majesty's principal commanders or officers of his army, the body or bodies of any person or persons, dead or alive, who have been followers of the said O'Doghertie in his said rebellion, being swordsmen or owners of goods or creathes [herds], shall have for his reward, not only his majesty's gracious pardon, but also all the goods of

such person or persons whom he shall so deliver or bring unto us, Phelim Reough M'David only excepted, who must expect no pardon; but whosoever shall bring in his head or deliver his body alive, shall have the full benefit of our former proclamation in that behalf.

Given at Dundalk, the 7th of July, 1608.*

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Raymond O'Gallagher, bishop of Derry, to his Holiness Clement VIII.

Tuam Sanctitatem latere non arbitramur quam alacri et excesso animo nostræ nobilitatis præcipui, sancti, haud dubie, Spiritus instinctu, tyranniæ Anglorum et pravitati ausi sunt resistere: omnem ipsorum virulentiam et Satanici furoris artificia, aperto marte viriliter irritando. Tametsi quis facile enumeret quæ quotidie volvantur et emergant, quibus ut animum adderet, ipsosque in hoc pulcherrimo instituto spe subsidii confirmaret stabiliretque; cum lator præsentium ex Hispania novissime venisset, cuncta ita uti sunt Catholicæ majestati fideliter relaturus, volumus atque monemus ut tua quoque Sanctitas fidem incunctanter eidem adhibeat: ac luctuosæ tuæ Hiberniæ, et innumeris cladibus ab hæreticis jamdiu afflictæ, squalidam ac funestam faciem benigno vultu aspiciat, et egregiam hanc occasionem, divinitus (ut credimus) oblatam, opportune arripiat, memor quam eadem esse soleat occipiti calvo, suisque fidelissimis non modo ab incunte christianismo clientibus, quam mature poterit clementer prospiciat; ac expectationis nostræ, ac tabellarii (cui pleraque tuæ Sanctitati nuncianda relinquimus) desiderio satisfaciat. Cujus etiam nos generis, industriæ, probitatis, ac synceri et vehementis in religionem et patriam affectus, rationem habentes, tuam oramus Sanctitatem, ut eundem benigno favore prosequatur, ipsique de dignitate N. providere non cunctetur, nostrum in hac re judicium authoritate sua comprobando.

* Public Record Office, State Papers, Ireland, 1608, July 7, Dundalk, No. 154 *a*.

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List of the Members of the Parliament held in Dublin Castle, 18th of May, 1613, dissolved October, 1615.

Armagh	1. Toby Caulfield, knt., privy councillor.
	2. John Bourchier, knt.*
B. Armagh	3. Mark Usher.
	4. Christopher Conway.
B. Charlemont	5. Edward More.
	6. Faithful Fortescue.
Antrim	7. Fulck Conwey, knt., privy councillor.
	8. Moses Hill.
Town of Carrickfergus .	9. Thomas Hibbotts, recorder of same.
	10. Humphrey Johnson, alderman.
B. Belfast	11. John Blenerhasset, knt., second baron of the King's Bench.
B. Coleraine	12. George Trevilian.
	13. Barnabas O'Brien, second son of the earl of Thomond.
	14. John Wilkinson.
Carlow	15. George Bagnall.
	16. Morgan Cavenagh.
B. Carlow	17. John Bere.
	18. Robert Jacob, solicitor-general.
Cavan	19. Oliver Lambert, knt., privy councillor.
	20. John Fishe.
B. Cavan	21. Hugh Culme.
	22. George Sexton, secretary to the lord deputy.†
B. Belturbet	23. Hugh Wirrall, knt.
	24. George Grimesdich.

* Died during first session, and sir Francis Annesley elected in his place.

† Walter and Thomas Brady, gentlemen, elected subsequently in their stead.

Clare	25. Daniel O'Brien, knt., son of the earl of Thomond.
	26. Berty Chancye.
B. Ennis	27. John Thorneton.
	28. Edmund Bloode.
Coleraine	29. John Baker.
	30. John Rowley.
B. Limavady	31. Christopher Sibthorpe.
	32. Roger Downton.
Cork	33. Dermot M'Carthy, of Logher.
	34. Andrew Barret.
City of Cork	35. Edmund Tirry and
	36. David Tirry, aldermen.
Town of Youghal . . .	37. Edmund Coppinger and
	38. John Forrest, aldermen.
Town of Kinsale . . .	39. James Roche.
	40. Dominic Roche.
B. Mallow	41. Samuel Molyneux.
	42. James Ware, auditor-general.
B. Baltimore	43. Thomas Crooke.
	44. Henry Piers.
B. Bandon Bridge . . .	45. Richard Morison, knt., privy councillor, vice-president of the province of Munster.
	46. William Crowe.
B. Cloghnakilty	47. Edward Harris.
	48. Henry Gosnold.
Cross Tipperary	49. Edmund Butler, of Cloghcully.
	50. Thomas Laffan, of Greystown.
B. Cashel	51. John Hayle.
	52. John Sale.
B. Fethard	53. Edward Everard.
	54. Redmond Hackett.
Dublin	55. Christopher Plunket, knt.
	56. Thomas Lutteral, of Lutterelstown.
City of Dublin	57. Richard Bolton, recorder of same
	58. Richard Barry, alderman.
University of Dublin . .	59. William Temple, provost of the College of Dublin,
	60. Charles Doyne, knt., doctor of civil law.

B. Swords	61. William Blakeney.
	62. John Fitzsimons.*
B. Newcastle, near Lyons .	63. William Parsons.
	64. William Rolles.
Donegal	65. John Vaughan.
	66. William Stewart.
City of Derry	67. George Cary, recorder.
	68. Thomas Crewe.
B. Donegal	69. William Crofton.
	70. Walter White, escheator of the province of Leinster.
B. Lifford	71. Francis Blundell.
	72. William Disney.
B. Ballyshannon . . .	73. Paul Gore.
	74. Edward Cherry.†
Down	75. James Hamilton and
	76. Hugh Montgomery, knts., members of the privy council.
Downpatrick	77. Richard Wingfield, knt., marshal and privy councillor.
	78. Richard West.
B. Newry	79. Arthur Basset.
	80. John Leighe.
B. Bangor	81. Edward Brabazon, knt., privy councillor.
	82. John Dalway.
B. Killileagh	83. Edward Trevor.
	84. John Hamilton.
B. Newtown in Le Ardes .	85. George Conningham, knt.
	86. James Cartcart, knt.
Fermanagh	87. Henry Folliott, knt.
	88. John Davys, knt., attorney-general, speaker.
B. Enniskillen	89. Roger Atkinson.
	90. Humphrey Fernham.
B. Galway	91. William Bourke, knt.
	92. John More.

* Died in first session, and Robert Carwell elected in his place.

† Died in first session, and Arthur Savage, knt., elected in his place.

Town of Galway . . .	93. Valentine Blake and 94. Geoffrey Lynch FitzDominick, aldermen.
Town of Athenry . . .	95. Stephen Browne. 96. Ludovic Bodkin.
B. Tuam	97. Thomas Rotherham, knt. 98. Dominick Pecke, the king's solicitor of the province of Connaught.
Kerry	99. Dan'l O'Sullivan, of Donolough. 100. Stephen Rice, of Ballinruddal.
B. Dinglecoish	101. Thomas Trant FitzRichard. 102. Michael Hussey.
B. Tralee	103. Robert Blenerhassett. 104. Humphrey Dethicke.
Kildare	105. William Talbot, of Carton. 106. John Sutton, of Tipper.
B. Kildare	107. William Colley, 108. Gilbert Domville, } miselected.*
B. Naas	109. William Latten. 110. Christopher Sherlock.
B. Athy	111. Robert Digby, knt., of the privy council. 112. Walter Weldon
Kilkenny	113. Robert Grace. 114. Luke Shee.
City of Kilkenny . . .	115. Patrick Archer. 116. Nicholas Langton, alderman.
B. Gowran	117. Thomas Staunton. 118. John Swayne.
B. Callan	119. William Roothe. 120. Pierce Heydon.†
B. Ennistioge	121. William Murphy. 122. Crihen Murphy.
B. Thomastown	123. Nicholas Robooke. 124. Robert Porter.
Leitrim	125. Gerald Nugent. 126. William Reynolds.

* Walter Fitzgerald and Thomas Farbeck elected in their place.

† Richard Fristall and William Rooth elected after death of Pierce Heydon.

B. Carrickdrumrusk . .	127. Maurice Griffith.
	128. Thomas Bellott.
Limerick	129. Francis Barkeley, knt., privy councillor.
	130. Thomas Browne, knt.
City of Limerick . . .	131. James Galway.
	132. Nicholas Arthur, alderman.
B. Kilmallock	133. Henry Verdon.
	134. Patrick Kearney.
B. Askeaton	135. Anthony Stoughton.
	136. Roger Rise.
Longford	137. Connell O'Ferrall.
	138. John O'Ferrall.
South Louth	139. Christopher Verdon, of Clonmore.
	140. Richard Gernon, of Strabane.
Town of Drogheda . . .	141. John Blakeney, alderman.
	142. Roger Beelinge.
B. Ardee	143. Barnaby Mathewe.
	144. Patrick Dowdall Fitzpatrick.
Town of Dundalk . . .	145. William Cashel.
	146. Richard Ellis.
B. Carlingford	147. Marmaduke Whitechurch.
	148. Roger Hope.
Mayo	149. Theobald Burke, knt.
	150. Thomas Burke, knt.
B. Castlebar	151. John Bingham, knt.
	152. Thomas Peyton.
Meath	153. Patrick Hussey, baron of Galtrim.
	154. Robert Barnwell.
B. Trim	155. Thomas Ash, knt.
	156. Roger Jones, knt.
B. Athboy	157. Melchior More.
	158. Richard Browne.
B. Navan	159. Patrick Begg.
	160. John Warren.
B. Kells	161. Oliver Plunkett.
	162. Gerald Balfe.
Monaghan	163. Edward Blakeney, knt., privy councillor.
	164. Bryan M'Mahowne, knt.

B. Monaghan	165. Thomas Reeves.
	166. Henry Cowley.
Queen's County	167. Henry Power, knt., of privy council.
	168. Robert Piggott, knt.
B. Maryboro'	169. Adam Loftus, knt.
	170. Alexander Barrington.
B. Ballinakill	171. Robert Ridgway, knt.
	172. Arthur Brereton.
King's County	173. Francis Ruish, knt., privy councillor.
	174. Adam Loftus, knt., privy councillor.
B. Phillipstown	175. Robert Leycester.
	176. Colly Phillips.
Roscommon	177. Oliver St. John, knt., vice-president of Connaught, privy councillor.
	178. John King, knt., master clerk of the Checque, privy councillor.
B. Roscommon	179. William Marwood.
	180. Maurice Smith.
B. Boyle	181. John Cusacke.
	182. Robert Meredith.
Sligo	183. Thadeus O'Hara.
	184. Brian M'Donogh.
B. Sligo	185. Henry Andrews, clerk of the Crown.
	186. Edward Southworth.
Tipperary	187. Walter Butler, knt., of Kilcash.
	188. John Everard, knt.
B. Clonmel	189. Nicholas White.
	190. John Bray.
Tyrone	191. Thomas Ridgway, knt., privy councillor.
	192. Francis Roe, knt.
City of Clogher	193. George Watkins.
	194. William Ferrar.
B. Dungannon	195. Gerald More.
	196. Hugh Pollard.
B. Strabane	197. Daniel Mollineux, U.K.A.
	198. James Montgomery.

B. Agher	199. Randulph Birkenshaw.
	200. Edward Skorye.
Waterford	201. James Gough, knt.
	202. John Power, of Campier.
City of Waterford . . .	203. Paul Sherlock.
	204. Richard Wadding.
B. Dungarvan	205. Peter Roe.
	206. Thomas Fitzharris.
B. Tallaght	207. Gerald Lother.
	208. Lawrence Parsons.
B. Lismore	209. Richard Boyle.
	210. Francis Annesley.
Westmeath	211. Christopher Nugent.
	212. Edward Nugent.*
B. Mullingar	213. Nicholas Casey.
	214. John Hamon.
B. Athlone	215. Richard St. John.
	216. Walter Nugent.
B. Kilbeggan	217. Robert Newcomon, knt.
	218. Beverley Newcomon.
Wexford	219. James Furlong,† of Horetown.
	220. Thomas Wadding.
Town of Wexford . . .	221. John Turnor.
	222. Robert Talbott.
Town of Ross	223. James FitzHenry.
	224. Mathew Shee.
B. Enniscorthy	225. Edward Fisher.
	226. Richard Perkins.
B. Fethard	227. Nicholas Loftus.
	228. Richard Pemberton.
Wicklow	229. Gerald Birne, of Tynepark.
	230. Phelim M'Feagh Birne.
B. Wicklow	231. William Usher, clerk of the council.
	232. Laurence Esmonde.

* Died first session; Edmund Nugent elected in his place, 1st May, 1615.

† Walter Synnott elected after the death of James Furlong.

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The Remonstrance addressed by the archbishop of Tuam to the Catholic members of the Parliament held in Dublin, 1613.

I received your letter of December 24th, informing me of what has taken place in your anti-national parliament. I entirely agree with you that the religious constancy of the Catholic party, in which you so confidently trust, deserves the highest praises. In my love of them, which is great and lasting, I heartily wish and pray that their virtues may be made known to the whole world; but I must tell you frankly that I think their honor is somewhat blemished, if true, as I am assured, that it is mainly through their doings that the Catholic religion has been reduced to such fearful extremities in Ireland. For they have not only frustrated the efforts of their brethren and countrymen, who had undertaken the defence of the Catholic religion against Elizabeth, and those who sought to restore it to its ancient splendor and greatness, but by depriving those brave defenders of the faith of their estates, they backed up the enemies of our holy religion. If we calmly reflect on their conduct, we shall be forced to admit that their present endeavors and fidelity, no matter how great, can never repair the injury done religion, or restore it to that greatness from which they precipitated it.

Though their glory be now more obscure than it should have been, had they not, by their faults, driven the whole kingdom into such misery; still, as the past cannot be recalled, or what is done undone, I feel certain they will do great service to the cause of religion in persevering in the course they have taken. Should they act otherwise, they will deserve the Gospel rebuke: "This man began to build, and was not able to finish."

However, I have great misgivings that in some things they may show themselves weak and inconstant. The circumstances you relate to me, of their accepting that Protestant Speaker* so undeserving of the country, and again, their acknowledging those new members in open violation of the laws and customs of the country, prove no small falling away from the old Catholic spirit. And, besides, by tolerating those

Sir John Davys.

unconstitutional members, they seem to confirm all the wickedness that has been committed in that parliament.

I feel obliged, too, to tell you, though with sorrow, that my fears have been greatly increased by what you write concerning the bill of confiscation. Even you, though well aware, I am sure, of its injustice, are inclined not to oppose it lest offence be given to those who advocate it. What folly! Are they not offended at Catholics who refuse to take the oath of supremacy? Will they not likewise take offence if, by-and-by, you offer opposition to the confiscation of your own property? In short, nothing can be more impotent and foolish than this conduct in Catholics. How can persons, seeking to put such designs into execution, be regarded as staunch Catholics? Is not the Protestant error which asserts that by faith alone, and without good works, one may be a good Catholic, totally opposed to the teaching of the Church? And again, what evil work is equal in wickedness and injustice to that of robbing men convicted of no crime whatever? It may be said that all this has been done by solemn act of parliament: I answer, this makes the act of injustice more atrocious, inasmuch as parliament should not proceed without certain and public knowledge of the crimes of the accused, and should be willing to admit all possible excuses and defences. But in the present case, no such thing has taken place. On the contrary, I have been told, and it is universally known, that those men, whose property is now being confiscated, were most kindly and honorably received and treated by the king, and confirmed in the possession of all their estates. And if afterwards, in order to shield themselves from the calumnies of enemies who sought to excite the prejudice of the king against them; or preferring the salvation of their souls to the gain of the whole world, they passed into other countries where they might more freely practise their religion: have they thereby committed an offence against his majesty? For what crimes do your Catholic members arraign those men, lately reconciled to their king, and pronounce sentence of confiscation? Have they been taken *flagrante delicto?* Have they been convicted by their own judicial confession? Has their guilt been proved on reliable testimony? Most assuredly this confiscation is a grievous sin, and the greater because the law which prohibits the coveting or robbing your neighbor's goods, is not

positive law, which the king might dispense with. Neither will it excuse you to say, that subjects are not bound to examine the orders of a superior as to whether they are just or not. Is that excuse to hold good when such orders are openly unjust? Upon what proofs have those Catholics been induced to condemn those men? Is it by the cunning and false-witness of malicious enemies? Strange idea of justice! Men are accused and condemned by their enemies and calumniators, without trial or time to make their defence! No one can doubt the iniquity of the proceeding, which even by the heathens was regarded with horror: "It is not the custom of the Romans to condemn any man, before that he who is accused have his accusers present, and have liberty to make his answer, to clear himself of the things laid to his charge."

God grant that those Catholics who boast themselves staunch defenders of the faith, may in no wise take part in such an infamous proceeding. Let them remember that the faith of good Catholics is a living faith, that worketh by charity; not that dead faith, which permits the spoliation of your neighbor's property. And, besides, I do not know how good Catholics can take any part in doings which, sooner or later, must inevitably prove instrumental in perverting the people from the Catholic faith. I call God to witness that I have no other object in expressing these opinions than pity for the misled Catholics, who, for some moments of apparent repose, place their eternal salvation in jeopardy; and, to please the whims of heretical enemies, inflict a deadly wound on their own Catholic brethren. You who scruple to infringe the laws of the Church, do not hesitate to break the immutable laws of God and nature. You cannot escape the rebuke of our Lord: "Ye blind guides, who strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel." Through the passion of our Redeemer, I beg of you to keep in mind "that you are the children of saints, and look for that life which God will give to those that never change their faith from Him;" and to remember with the Apostle, "that you have not here a lasting city, but seek one that is to come." Take care lest you all, clergy and laity, fall under the judgment of the Lord. If the threats of heretical ministers, "who to-morrow shall descend to hell to dwell with devouring fire, with everlasting burnings, unless, peradventure, God may give them repentance to know the truth, and they may recover them-

selves from the snares of the devil, by whom they are held captive at his will"—if these threats are sufficient to frighten you from the way of justice and truth, verily we may cry out with the Apostle, "we are of all men most miserable." If, by-and-by, the Church ask those theological abettors of the confiscation to prove their reasons for counselling it, I feel certain that they would decline.

"But, beloved, we are persuaded better things of you, and things that accompany salvation, though we thus speak." And we have confidence that the words of the Apostle will be fulfilled in you: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"

We earnestly beseech the Almighty to avert such a calamity; for by this act of injustice your glory will be sullied, His anger provoked against you, heresy will strike deeper roots in the country, thereby depriving Him of many souls. Farewell.

Valladolid, March 1st, 1614.

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THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS.

'Tis an old story: Might awrath with right:
A nation conquered and her shrines o'erthrown;
Her chieftains flying seaward in the night,
And not a trumpet of departure blown.
For the last hope of Ireland quenched its light;
The master-spirit of the Past had flown;
And England, glaring through the smoke and heat,
Beheld the people prostrate at her feet.

Prostrate and broken! though O'Donel made
Peace with the robbers of his home and race.
Prostrate and broken! though O'Neill had laid
In English dust a vanquished heart and face.
Prostrate and broken! slanders, foul and base,
Dishonored them. They sheathed the shattered blade,
They furled the Irish flag, and sailed away,
Out of Lough Swilly, with the setting day.

And with O'Neill went kith, and kin, and wife;
Brother and sister with O'Donel fled;
Clansmen and friends, that oft in bloody strife
Thronged the deep spear-ranks flashing bright and red.
Slowly the heavens around were pulsed with life;
The great stars throbbed in the silence overhead;
The low moon glimmered thro' the southern lights,
On the grey abbey of the Carmelites.*

And then arose hoarse farewells from the shore,
And shrieks of woman pale with misery;
And ever and anon, amid the roar,
Clenched and imploring hands were lifted high.
It was the feast of Holy Cross—no more
Bell-tone or vesper floated to the sky;
For war and pestilence had blighted all
The myriad valleys of green Donegal.

Out on the surges—from the holy spot
Where Hugh O'Donel was entrapped by foes;†
Far from the battle-fields where they had fought;
Far from the castles, and the dear repose
Of hills and meadows, through which rivers sought
The ocean, psalming immemorial woes;
Far from the holy sanctuaries of home,
They cleft the billows between wind and foam!

Then, as they saw the violet mountains wane
Dim in the misty distance of the lee,
Upswam a cry, like a funereal strain—
One awful canticle of agony.
White faces turned to the dark land again,
Wild looks were strained across the hoary sea;
They cursed the traitor, Cecil, and the hand
That smote their lives, their liberties, their land.

* The venerable ruins of this abbey, founded by the Mac Swineys of Fanad, still remain on the shores of Lough Swilly.

† For the perfidious capture of young Hugh O'Donel, *vide* Mitchel's "Life of Hugh O'Neill."

Silent and cold, his shoulder to the mast,
  Blackwater's* conqueror stood motionless;
Near him O'Donel, lip and face aghast,
  Bent, pallid, comfortless and purposeless.
The canvas crackled in the moaning blast;
  The holy mountains glimmered less and less;
The sun went down as to a fiery sleep—
They were alone with God upon the deep.

Alone! alone! and never more to hear
  The morning bugle on their native hills;
Never to chase the mighty-antlered deer,
  Through the brown forests and the leaf-strewn dells;
Never again to hurtle a free spear
  In battle, when the roar of conflict swells
Round tent and standard, when the stubborn earth
Reeled to the allied shock of west and north.

Even for them the ocean was not free;
  Grim hostile ships were ploughing in their wake:
Chichester, counselled of their flight to sea,
  Despatched his murderous crews to overtake
The little bark, that bore right gallantly
  Hearts that calamities could never break—
Fortunes that outlived the sun and rain;
And honor that affliction could not stain.

But the saints watched for them; and with the dawn
  The mighty waters slumbered all around;
But with the noon the tempest vapors, drawn
  Out of the cloud and froth, up-scaled and wound
Their giant arms and locks of lightning tawn
  Across the sun, that, hid in the profound
Gloom of their thund'rous chaos, ceased to shine,
And second midnight brooded on the brine.

Sudden, the topmasts glittered all ablaze,
  And half the sails flashed whitely in the dark;
Against the heavens like many-colored rays,
  The dazzled yards stood out, austere and stark;

* Alias the Yellow Ford, where O'Neill routed the English army commanded by Bagnall.

And like a hell-blast, in the dusk and daze,
The thunder-throated tempest struck the bark:
Down, down, she plunged, but yet to rise again,
Dashing her bow across the surge to Spain.

Three days, three nights, amid the howling storm,
Tost at God's mercy on the shaken wave!
They saw the reeling mists of ocean form,
Like pillars guarding a Druidic grave.
But hope in One in heaven was strong and warm:
Their consciences were free, their hearts were brave:
Under the green flag on the billows broad,
The compass of their souls still turned to God.

And close behind them, trailing in the brine,
A relic of the cross of Calvary
Sparkled in the surf—a brilliancy divine—
Cast out to tame the fury of the sea;
Two sea-larks, as the morning bells beat nine,
Folded their wings upon the good ship's lee:
Auspicious comers! Sudden the wind ceased,
And the slow fires of sunrise lit the East.

And round the bark the tranquil waters shone,
Nigh the thick-masted port of Havre-grace.
Thanks rendered they to God, through Whom alone
The tempest and the bolt unscathing pass.
Then up the golden Seine they wandered on,
Till Rouen's towers dipped straight in the clear glass
Of the broad river; and the scent of vines
Was blown to them across the meadow pines.

Sweet is the sense of troubles drifted o'er,
Dear the remembrance of griefs gone by;
Like the low moon from a receding shore,
When the last gleam of day is in the sky:
But woe for them, for there was woe in store,
Foul enemies, and worse—captivity—
England had tracked them, like avenging fates,
Rouen received them captives at its gates.

To Henry, king, and victor of Navarre,
With solemn brows the English envoy went,
Saying: "These are rebels who have waged foul war
'Gainst us, with deeds and arms incontinent;
I pray you, knighthood's high, ascendant star,
In fetters let them be to England sent;
For they are men of bloody minds and hearts,
And masters of abominable arts."

But the king answered, while the valiant blood
Flashed to his cheek: "We know for what they fought;
We know the plunderers they have withstood;
We know the deeds their chivalry has wrought.
The brave man battles with the winter's flood;
The coward sinks. Our succor they have sought;
And if our lieges hold them, set them free,
France shall not outrage hospitality."

And Freedom, knocking at the city gates,
Gave them acquittance: so they issued forth,
Fugitives hounded by relentless fates,
Finding no resting-place on God's fair earth.
O Grief, that time and passion antedates!
O bitter memories of fireless hearth!
The chieftains of a race and faith sublime,
Forlorn and outcast, in an alien clime!

Albert and Isabella, may your name
In the gold book of ages ever shine!
When unto Brussels, comfortless, they came,
You honored them with sympathy divine.
Once more they sat and saw the cresset's flame
On silver beakers, brimmed with banquet wine;
And heard, until the morning waxed star-proof,
The minstrel's voices beating to the roof.

And endless glories bless thy walls, Louvain!
Thy people welcomed as men welcome kings—
To thy Franciscans, whilst his eyes dropped rain,
O'Neill consigned his son. The spurred heel rings
On the dim pavements sown with marble grain;
And the red shield's-breadth in the oriel brings,
To him who sees it, the grief-stricken face
Of the great lord of all his lordly race.

Drift by, dark days, drift by, and bring them rest;
Lorraine's thrice ducal portal greet them soon.
They crossed the shining thresholds, prince and guest,
And there, in halls porphyry fair hewn,
The Duke received them; whilst along the West
Clouds loomed, fire-scabbered; and the waning moon
Looked through the lofty window's traceries,
On the wild splendor of the revelries.

Across the Rhœtian Alps, with dawn, they go,
Scaling their purple scalps and crimson peaks;
Up through the vast eternities of snow,
Where never cleaving wing of eagle breaks
The chilling silences, with motion slow—
Where the frost crackles in a thousand creeks
Of ice, that, gleaming in the cloudless blue,
Blooms at the heart into a violet hue.

Higher and higher, till, below their feet,
The olive lands slept, bronzing in the sun;
Down the sheer slopes, till, margining the sleet,
The Alpine daisy, amber-cored and dun,
Blossomed; and the air was faint and sweet,
With gusts of odor from the poplars wan,
And all around—a verdurous, rich sea,—
Laughed like an autumn vineyard—Italy!

Milan that liest like a frozen dream
In the rare vagueness of a precious Past,
To thy chief's palace, tnrreted and dim,
'Mid myriad welcomings, the exiles passed.
Whilst Spanish chivalry in song shall gleam,
No cloud, Fuentes, shall thy name o'ercast—
Glorious exception to the petty ways
Of strangled valor and ignoble days!

They sat, thrice-honoured guests, around thy board—
Thy bounty gifted them with steeds and arms;
In the great city temples they adored
God, who delivered them from hates and harms,
When the green banner tortered, and the sword
Was hacked, from slaughter of invading swarms.
Before St. Charles' vast shrine they knelt long hours,
And strewed the holy sanctuary with flowers.

Parma and Bologna saw them feast
With Duke and Legate; thence they bent their way
Unto Loretto as a solemn feast
Kindled the joyaunce of a holiday.
And from the north and south, and west and east,
The pious pilgrims came to kneel and pray
Within the lowly house, whose roof did hide
The patient Mother of the Crucified.

There is no exile given unto faith,
No region too remote for God to hear
Voices that, lifted from this vale of death,
Like crystal arrows, cleave the atmosphere:
So they adored and prayed, with sob and tear,
The Virgin to deliver them from wrath;
And comfort fell upon their burning pain,
As gently as the mist of summer rain.

Rome! splendrous temple on eternal hills,
Vast miracle of wedded faith and art,
God's shrine, from whose bright cisterns there outwells
Strength to the spirit—wisdom to the heart;
In thee, the Past beside the Present dwells,
Lights of the Future through thy twilight dart—
Tomb of the Cæsars—sepulchre and shrine
Of all humanity believes divine.

Towards thee they journeyed. From the latest ridge
Of upland, glowing in the noonday light,
They saw the immemorial Milvian-bridge,
Where Constantine beheld the cross of light
Blaze in the Latin heaven—a lustrous pledge
Of hope and victory in the coming fight.
Quick beat their hearts, their words were chocked with sighs
Tears rushed unbidden to their aching eyes.

For there stood Peter Lombard, of Armagh,
Exiled archbishop, widowed from his see;
And, grouped around the prelate chief, they saw
The princely chiefs of Rome's nobility.
Soon there were voices raised in joyful awe,
Embraces and exultant jubilee;
"Faithful and strong, we welcome you," they said;
"Rome loveth the Lord's disinherited."

And when they prayed before St. Peter's tomb,
To the Fifth Paul, the Pontiff, they were led
Up through the Quirinal, in the gorgeous gloom
Of pillared corridors and halls, o'erspread
With frozen dreams of beauty, through whose bloom
Shine out the spirits of the gracious dead—
Rich in the fervor of the soul and heart,
Bright in the immortality of art.

The Pontiff rose, and took them to his breast,
And weeping, blessed, and welcomed them to Rome:
"Here may the exiles of the world find rest;
Here, O my children, find a hearth and home—
Religion is the host, and you the guest.
Lord, with thy sweetest consolations come
To those who, firm through agony and shame,
Contended for the glory of Thy name."

Close by the holy church, where Tasso's bones
Sleep like a precious perfume in an urn,
Where genius consecrates the silent stones
That round the high-priest of the Muses mourn,
And solemn vespers rise, in thrilling tones,
The roofs and casements of a palace burn;
Under whose roofs, afront the radiant West,
The chieftains and their retinues found rest.

Great honors on their heads the Pontiff showered;
'Twas theirs to bear his canopy, when slow,
Thro' the long spaces of St. Peters's, poured
The long procession; and the choirs sang low,
And from S. Angelo the cannon roared,
And heaved the surging multitudes below
The wondrous dome, that, floating in mid-air,
Lets in celestial splendors everywhere.

But, thro' all glories of the heart and soul,
The bitter memories of Ireland strove
With feigned forgetfulness. The world might roll
Still closer to the sun; but their great love
Had holy Ireland for its deathless goal.
They saw the happy seasons change and move,
The leaf fall, and the star of spring wax dim,
But *that* survived which never changed with them.

Home, home! O pleasant valleys of Tyrone!
Dear woods and rivers of green Donegal!
Castles, by the spoiler's hand o'erthrown,
The death moss rooted in the banquet-hall!
Land of their sires, they might not call their own,
Priesthood and people suffering in thrall!
O give them, for Rome's brightest miracles,
One hour of battle on their native hills!

Hope, buried hope! O'Donel, sick and tired,
Journeyed to Ostia: but for him no peace!
There came not to his heart what it desired;
He looked to heaven, and hungered for release.
God gave it. In Rome's heart the chief expired,
Calling on Christ until his tongue did cease.
Far from the home of mournful memory,
He closed his eyes beneath an alien sky.

They buried him with majesty and pomp—
Rome's noblest held his pall; from street to street
Slow cannon thundered, and the mournful tromp
Blared; whilst the drum of lamentation beat
Its deepening clamors under cross, and lamp,
And torch, diffusing odors exquisite.
And when the iron-throated echoes ceased,
Up-swelled the requiem of the black-robed priest.

Past fount and temple, and high monument,
Trophy and arch, the vast procession streamed;
On the great funeral-car, with tears besprent,
The sun in melancholy glory beamed.
And close behind, bowed down, paced one who seemed
Crushed low by an immortal discontent;
The Romans bared their heads in mute appeal,
Or whispered, as he slowly paced—"O'Neill."

On the Janiculum, in the holy shade
Of Monte d'Oro, they interred his dust.
There, in the habit of St. Francis laid,
He waits the resurrection of the just.
For thro' all wishings, baffled or delayed,
Unshaken was his long-abiding trust:
Over all earthly ills, his soul could see
The radiance of a white Eternity.

Death mowed his race; Cathbar, his brother, died
In the bright flower and vigor of his youth;
Too soon young, young O'Neill, the great Earl's pride,
Fell prostrate in unseasonable ruth.
Their precious ashes were interred beside
O'Donel's. Tender was the pagan truth,
Ages ago, with inspiration sung:
Whom the gods love, the singer said, die young!

Sick and abandoned, and companionless,
From shrine to shrine the comfortless great chief
Wandered in a dream of wretchedness.
Time brought no soothing quiet to his grief;
But tho' his hope-star glimmered less and less,
There triumphed thro' all doubt a strong belief
In vengeance—in a quick-approaching day,
With Irish pikes embattled in array

Often, mayhap, oppressed with ills, he heard
The trumpet throbbing on an Irish plain.
Or saw the Red-hand in the war-wind flared—
A comet-splendor glittering on the slain.
And when the looming cloud of battle stirred,
Out-flashed the lances of his ally—Spain.
O dream deferred! O vision most forsook!
"It shall not be!" was written in the book.

And so in silence—dumbest agony,
The grey years ate his heart and blanched his hair.
There were no friendly ships upon the sea;
Vastness and vagueness girt him everywhere.
His spirit lost its old divinity—
A pestilence was brooding in the air—
God's heaven was blank to him, for he grew blind,
And triple darkness locked his eye and mind.

He died; Rome keeps his ashes evermore.
Of all his greatness but his tomb remains—
A fragment wreck upon a sainted shore.
The dawn breaks and the golden evening wanes
Down crypt and aisle, and folds its splendor o'er
The sepulchres abloom with tender stains—
The holy monuments, within whose space,
Inurned, repose the chieftains of our race.

The old, old story! Have they died in vain?
Be there no solemn voices from their dust?
Beside their graves, although our hearts complain—
Let us confess that Destiny is just.
God rules the epochs, and His works remain—
And we are blind; but leaning on our trust,
We know, although the substance mocks our sight,
This sacred truth—whatever is, is right.

PAGE 460.

On the death of Dr. Lombard (1625), John, earl of Tyrone, addressed the following report to the Sacred College of Cardinals. The original is in the Archives of S. Isidoro, whence we have procured this copy. The reader will perceive that earl John did not despair of recovering his patrimony, and was anxious that none but a native of Ulster should be appointed to the primacy of all Ireland.

Relatio ad electionem Primatis Hib. loco Illmi. Primatis hoc ipso anno (1625), *Romæ defuncti.*

Hib. Divisio politica. Antiquissima et celeberrima est illa sæcularis, et politica Hiberniæ divisio in quinque partes, seu provincias, videlicet Ultoniam, Conactiam, Momoniam, Aquil. et Mediam quæ est media tantum provincia. Harum provinciarum maxima est ultima in qua præcipue olim regnaverunt illustrissimi comites de Tirone, et de Tirconnel, qui exules facti vitam ambo finierunt, eorumque illustrissimi filii et hæredes jam in Belgio, sub Catholici regis protectione degunt.

Divisio Eccl. Ecclesiastica vero Hiberniæ divisio est in quatuor Archiepiscopatus videlicet Ardmachanum, cui semper annexus est Primatus Hiberniæ, estque in Ultonia; Dublinensem, qui in Lagenia, Cassiliensem, qui in utraque Momonia; et Tuamensem qui in Conactia est. Horum maximus est Ardmachanus,

utpote decem sub se habens suffragancos, quot nullus alius habet.

Cum igitur rectæ rationi, ecclesiasticisque constitutionibus consentaneum sit ut externi ad ecclesiasticas dignitates aut beneficia in aliqua provincia, aut patria non eligantur modo aliquis in ipsa provincia repereatur idoneus.

1ª. ratio. Æquum profecto videtur ut si ullus in provincia Ultoniæ literis, et vita commendabilis, et ad dignitatem primatus sufficiens inveniri possit cuilibet externo, sive ex alia provincia oriundo præferatur. Tum quod in Ultonia maxime omnium Hiberniæ provinciarum persecutio grassetur, securius ibi possit residere, et vivere incola Ultoniensis, utpote loca tutiora melius cognoscens, et plures amicos habens, quam ullus externus.

2ª. ratio. Tum quod experientia comprobatum est externos, qui hactenus illam dignitatam obtinuerunt, aut nunquam, aut nonnisi raro, et obiter in eadem diocesi residisse, qua negligentia quanta parat mala, omnes bene affecti norunt; quantumque juri tam divino, quam canonico adversetur, omnes docti intelligunt. Sed si Ultoniensis aliquis ad illam dignitatem promovebitur, præter alias obligationes ipsa naturalis propensio in provinciam et contribubium suorum commodum impellet eum ad residendum.

3ª. Quum denique quod supradictorum comitum filii, qui præcipui olim erant, et jam esse deberent provinciæ Ultoniæ temporales domini ægre ferent se tantum non obtinere a sua Sanctitate ut aliquis ex eadem provincia Primas creatur, cum eorum piæ memoriæ illustrissimi parentes, aut prædecessores ecclesiæ inimicis tamdiu restiterint, ipsorumque dumtaxat auxilio, Deo duce, speretur restauratio veræ religionis, et ecclesiasticæ libertatis in Hibernia. Verentur enim, nec sine causa, ut fertur, exemplo apreterritis accepto, ne si aliquando a Deo assistente, et Catholico rege favente, ipsi in Hiberniam redirent (quod quotidie sperant) et bellum contra Anglos gerent, Primas externus, seu aliunde, quam ex Ultonia oriundus, non tam diligenter, aut fideliter, eis auxilium ferret, tum ipsos Hibernos hortando, tum externos principes rogando, ut subsidium darent; non quidem quod aliquis Catholicus Primas hæresi faveret directe; absit; sed quod consideratione quadam politica nollet vinci Anglos, aut regno Hibernæ deturbari. Et sic saltem indirecte faveret hæresi, ut putatur, cum non optaret extirpationem Anglorum,

quibus remanentibus, vix aut ne vix quidem (secundum hominem dico), hæresis ex illo regno extirpati potest. Adde quod non tam illorum Comitum, quam ipsius sanctissimi Domini causa hic agatur; ipsi siquidem optant habere Primatem ex Ultonia oriundum; præter alia ut ad Hiberniæ regnum tam Ecclesiæ, quam sibi ipsis aliquando recuperandum favorabilior et diligentior esset. Ergo cum adipsum sanctissimum Dominum, ut omnes fateri debent, Hiberniæ monarchia et principale dominium spectet, sitque Christi in terris vicarius, et supremum ecclesiæ caput, congruum est ut illum constituat Hiberniæ Primatem, qui et regnum illud ab ecclesiæ filiis recuperari optet, et juvet, et fidem Catholicam modis omnibus introduci satagat.

Postremo rogatur ut si prædictæ rationes minus efficaces videntur, cleri saltem et populi Ardmachanæ diocesis suffragia expectentur, ut sic majori cum effectu, et fructu recipiant Primatem quem ipsi optabunt. Si de persona duntaxat questio sit, dignissima nominabitur ætatis provectæ, scientiæ consummatæ, multiplici virtute prædita, et omnibus Ultoniensibus gratissima, nimirum rev. admod. P. F. Hugo Cavellus, Ultoniensis, Ord. Min. Strict. Obs. Religiosus, S. T. L. Jubil. Juris. Canonici peritus, Jurisque Civilis non ignarus, olim guardianus Collegii Frat. Min. Hib. Lovanii, et Ord. Seraphici generalis Definitor, quinquaginta aut circiter annos natus, qui variis aliis in suo ordine officiis laudabitur functus, sui nominis memoria, et bonæ famæ odore per Hispaniam, Germaniam, et Hiberniam prædicationibus, consiliis, conversatione, vitæ integritate, et scriptis non vulgaribus in diversis linguis, resperso et relicto: tandem a revmo. Ord. Seraphici generali Illustrissimo Romam vocatus, ubi jam in conventu Aracœlitano Frat. Min. primæ cathedræ regens constitutus est. Hunc et magnates omnes, et clerus, et populus Ultoniensis, summo prosequuntur affectu votisque communibus, et unanimo consensu, haud dubie, ad dignitatem Primatis Hiberniæ eligerent.

Duo sunt alii ejusdem Ord. Religiosi, videlicet Henricus Mellanus, et Mauritius Ultanus, Ultonienses, ambo viri graves, provectæ ætatis et docti; qui hisce multis annis elapsis in vinea Domini in Hibernia laborarunt, et etiamnum laborant; nihilominus Patri Hugoni Cavello supradicto nullatemus sunt æquiparandi.

Ex clero seculari unum duntaxat novi qui ad hanc dignitatem promoveri posset; is autem est Edmundus Dunganus Ulto-

niensis, S. T. D., nuper creatus Episcopus Dunensis et Conretensis in Ultonia; sed et hoc etiam Pater Cavellus longe dignior censetur ætate, doctrina, et rerum experientia.

Page 466.

The Archives of S. Isidoro contain a considerable amount of original letters relating to the Irish in 1641, many of them written by Owen Roe O'Neill to father Luke Wadding, and other members of the Irish Franciscans in that convent. We append a few of them, which will have special interest for the Irish reader. The first, translated from the Spanish, was written during the memorable siege of Arras, 1640; and those in Latin, at the time when Owen Roe was about to embark for Ireland:—

Very Rev. Father,—The letter of your very reverend Paternity reached me yesterday evening, the 7th of this month. I am deeply grieved to learn from it the little foresight our nation has shown in disarming at this particular time, without taking into consideration the evil and loss that may thence come upon them, which, I am certain, will be extirpation, and the total ruin of that poor country, if God, in His divine mercy, through means of some who understand these things, does not put it into their hearts to agree among themselves, and look forward to the great tempest that will surely burst upon them, to deprive them of their property, and reduce the survivors to perpetual slavery, without the hope of ever being able to free themselves, except by a miracle from God, which, I fear, will not be in our day.

I consider very well-timed, and to the purpose, the valiant and noble resolution which your Paternity has taken, to run personal risk in order to see if it be possible to give a helping hand to remedy these things, and the difficulties and dangers that are in them. I trust in God, as this cause is His own,

that He will overcome them; and as regards the means for the journey, they shall not be wanting to your Paternity, although I were to sell all my horses. It will be necessary to keep this business a great secret, and let as few as possible know about it, and this even as regards the community, although I respect them all as good and holy men. Because, as all the world knows the high opinion and estimation in which your very reverend Paternity is held throughout these kingdoms, and as you are a public personage, there is reason to fear that if some persons knew of your being there [in Ireland] at this particular time, they would suppose it to be on some business of importance. It is true that there is great persecution there, but up to the present they have not laid hands on any Irishman. I do not know whether they may not do so before long, but I fear that the imprudent inertness of our countrymen will give them an opportunity of treating them as they please. It certainly would be of much importance if we could meet one another for a while before this journey is undertaken, and [it would be well] if your very reverend Paternity were to write, letting me know the day you intend to arrive at Lille, and give a letter to my wife, to whom I will write, that she forward it to me by express beforehand, in order that I may arrive there on the same day, if I can; or, if our close position to the enemy does not permit me to go so far [as Lille], that I may appoint the nearest possible place for an interview with your very reverend Paternity. I have always been in the habit of going to lodge at the "Red Knight," at Lille, but I will not go there now, as it is well known to the Irish, all of whom lodge there. I will rather go to the "Three Kings," and await a brief answer from your very reverend Paternity touching these matters. The news from this place is not very good, as we are witnessing a wretched spectacle—the loss of this town—miserably [brought about] by past neglect. The place is so closely besieged, that the enemy has erected two other batteries almost over the very edge of its entrenchments. If reinforcements do not come, I fear it will be lost sooner than is imagined. We are quartered here over a little hill in front of the enemy, a marsh intervening, and our sentinels and those of the enemy are very near one another. With all this, we can give no relief whatever to the poor people who are suffering inside, and we have no other hope than in the duke of Lorraine. One day he is a friend, and comes; another

day he is an enemy, and treats with France. Up to the present nothing is known of his Highness that can be relied upon; but every moment we expect letters from the count Garcia, who has been sent to treat with him. If, however, his Highness were willing to come with the troops he is said to have, and others he has sent for, not only would the town be delivered, but hope would be entertained of completely routing the enemy. The nephew of your very reverend Paternity has been four or five days with us in La Basse Deule, and has retired to Lille. He may rest assured of my desire to serve him in every possible way, which indeed he does with entire confidence.

An English Jesuit father arrived here yesterday from St. Omer's, and says that they received letters by the last post from England, in which it was stated that the Irish refused to disarm, and that they answered the king and the English parliament, that if they are mad, they [the Irish] do not wish to be so too, and would not lay down their arms until they see their affairs settled to their satisfaction. I do not know whether this be true or not, but the father told it as certain. May our Lord preserve your very reverend Paternity many years, as I desire.

The most affectionate servant of your very reverend Paternity, who kisses your hands,

Don Eugenio O'Neill.

From the camp, 8th of July, 1640.

Admod. Rev. Pater,—Accepi V. P. litteras zeli vestri in patriam aliis multis argumentis noti, testes. Utinam posse patriæ prodesse ac velle æque vobis esset integrum, ut affectui effectus responderet. Tempus labitur, et afflicta patria ingemiscit, et fatigatur non laboribus quos ad mortem usque pro fide parata est sustinere; sed longa spe, et expectatione externi succursus, quem mature afferturum non dubitavit, et appropinquantem non vidit. Non dubitavit enim si principes Catholici sua in hac parte denegarent auxillia, quin S. S. A. solita sua pietate adjutricem porrigeret manum, pro fidei Catholicæ dignitate et defensione. Non ignorat enim non solum S. Ap. Christianæ fidei magistræ et propagatrici ex officio incumbere

eamdem fidem refovere, et ab interitu preservare; unde ad horas habet oculos præstolantes ejusdem, S. Sedis pium adjutorium, quod non ambigit adfuturum, licet sub tam gravi onere ingemiscens miretur, et doleat ejus tarditatem.

Intellexi in litteris P. Hugonis Hartigan aliquod pium legatum sive subsidium missum esse ad partes Galliæ; quod ad has partes mallem mitti ubi melius procommuni ejusdem patriæ bono expendi posset. Posset enim simile negotium ipsi patri Hugoni tanquam superintendenti optime committi; qui ex suo zelo, et prudentia non permitteret illud aliter expendi quam ut communis utilitas postularet, et ipsi subsidium conferentes vellent. Sed hoc, et quæ hactenus significavi P. V. zelo et prudentiæ committo: a qua non aliud in similibus expecto quam quod ad bonum commune patriæ, et gloriam Dei promovendam melius judicabit expedire. Interim me et afflictam patriam, Paternitatis vestræ precibus, aliisque pii zeli officiis recommendo.

Rdæ. P. V. servus ad obsequia paratissimus,

Don. Eug. O'Neill.

Bruxellis, hac 18 Mai, 1642.

Rde. Admod. Pater,—Post varias vias partim frustra expectatas, partim frustra attentatas, quibus spes videri posset afflictæ patriæ succurrendi postquam majorem morem, quam alias, optarem in his exquirendis contractam; jam resolvi non amplius in his immorandum, nec patriæ cui aliter succurrere non possum, meæ personæ operam subtrahere. Unde statui et maris periculis me committere, ut patriæ qua possum per meam præsentiam non videar deesse. Nunc sum accinctus ad navim cum aliquot meæ gentis nobilibus. V. P. valedico, et gratias ago magnas provestro in patriam zelo, et erga me affectu. Non duxi V. Reverentiam multum rogandam ut in suo erga patriam zelo, pergat ejus negotia apud S. Sanctitatem, ne videar vestrum zelum, multis argumentis testatissimum, in dubium vocare. Omnes litteræ ex Anglia, Francia, Hollandia, et ipsa etiam Hibernia clamant omnia feliciter succedere Catholicis, et nisi penuria pulveris tormentarii, et apparatibus bellicis multum laborarent, jam haberent universum

regnum in sua potestate. Oh, si sciret Sanctitas sua haud ambigendum est quin vellet ejus defectui apponere remedium. Sed hæc P. V. zelo et prudentiæ relinquimus, et omni animi devotione nos et afflictæ patriæ statum vestris patruumque subjectorum sacrificiis et precibus; humiliter recommendamus.

V. P. humilis et devotus servus,

DON. EUG. O'NEILL.

Bruxellis, hac die 7 Junii, 1642.

P.S.—Quod inter prima recommendandum erat, rogo quod V. P. dignetur S. Sanctitati porrigere has adjunctas quibus benedictionem mihi, aliisque pro fide certantibus suppliciter postulo.

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* This spelling appears in all the State papers; and is, therefore, retained in preference to the modern mode, *Davies*.

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